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THE

VIRGINIA MAGAZINE

OF

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY

THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FOR THE

YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1922

VOL. XXX

RICHMOND, VA.
HOUSE OF THE SOCIETY
707 E. FRANKLIN ST.

311404

PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

E. V. VALENTINE
C. V. MEREDITH

Editor of the Magazine

WILLIAM G. STANARD

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OLD DOMINION PRESS, INC., PRINTERS
RICHMOND, VA.

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THE
VIRGINIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

VOL. XXX JANUARY, 1922 NO. 1

THE AMERICAN REGIMENT IN THE CARTHAGENA EXPEDITION

BY E. ALFRED JONES, M. A., F. R. HIST. S.

This military expedition to Carthagena, the Spanish stronghold on the north coast of South America, is of interest in American history in that it was the first occasion to employ American troops outside their own Continent in a war between Great Britain and one of the most powerful European nations.

According to Smollett, the novelist (who served as a surgeon's mate in one of Admiral Vernon's ships on this expedition and wrote an account of it), the suggestion to raise troops in America came from Colonel Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, a colony which was conspicuous for enthusiasm in answering the call for volunteers.

Directions were issued for raising four battalions of Americans, to be commanded by Governor Spotswood, who was appointed second in command of the British military force and Quartermaster General. His instructions for raising the regiment are dated 5 April 1740. After alluding to the honour conferred by the King upon this officer, in promoting him at

once to the rank of Major General and giving him a considerable share in an expedition of such great importance—"for making an attempt upon some of the most considerable of the Spanish settlements"—under the supreme command of Lord Cathcart, the instructions go on to say that half the blank commissions for Virginia should be filled by Spotswood and the other half by the Lieutenant Governor.[1]

One of the officers recommended (by the Duke of Newcastle in this case) for the Virginia contingent was Edward Martin, nephew of Lord Fairfax.[2]

Unfortunately, both Lord Cathcart and Major General Spotswood died before the troops reached their goal, the latter at Annapolis in Maryland on 7 June 1740, when the arrangements for the American force were put into the hands of Colonel Gooch, and the regiment became known as "Colonel Gooch's American Regiment."

The instructions to the Governors of the various American Colonies dated 2 April 1740, state that 3,000 men were expected to be raised in America.[3]

The command of the whole force devolved upon Brigadier General Thomas Wentworth, a hesitating, timid officer, well versed in the theory of war. To their lack of discipline is attributed the reason that only 300 Americans were trusted ashore, and, therefore, the names of the American officers engaged in the actual fighting cannot probably be ascertained. The American contingent was reduced to 1300 men by the horrors of the yellow fever.[4]

The following list[5] of gentlemen recommended to the King by Lord Cathcart as officers in the American Regiment is now, perhaps, published for the first time.

---

[1] Public Record Office, London: C. O. 5/5, ff. 149-155. The Governors of Virginia were titular Lieutenant Governors, the Governor in chief being resident in England. Spotswood (who served under Marlborough) was Lt. Governor 1710-20, and William Gooch (also an officer) held the same position from 1727 to 1749.

From Dec. 1740 until about July 25, 1741, during Gooch's absence, Rev. James Blair, D. D., President of the Council, was acting Govrnor.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Public Record Office: Chatham Papers, 95.

[4] Fortescue, *Hist. of the British Army*, Vol. II, pp. 60-74.

[5] Public Record Office: C. O. 5/41.

From this expedition, as will be remembered, came the name of Mount Vernon to the Washington estate in Virginia, thus called by Lawrence Washington in memory of his hero, Admiral Vernon, commander-in-chief of the naval force.

LIEUTENANTS.

Names of Gent Carrying Arms	*Date of Service and Character*	*By whom recommended*
Wm Mills[6]	Served seven years in the Queen's Reg^t of horse, a very handsome clever man att present in the Royal Reg^t of Artillery.	Duke of Argyle[7]
W^m McKenzie	Has serv'd three y^rs in Gen. Wade's Reg^t as Volunteer, of a good Family & has behav'd to the satisfaction of his Officers.	
St. John Leader	Son of John Leader, eldest L^t in the Reg^t of foot commanded by Maj^r Genl Otway[9], has carried arms five y^rs in ye said Reg^t, a sensible sober young man and understands the discipline of ye Army.	Genl Wade[8]
Alex. Craufurd.	Carried Arms five years in Genl Colliers Reg^t[10] in the Dutch service & is recommended by his officers as one who always behav'd in the handsomest manner, & ever had a particular attention to his duty & is very well qualified to be an Officer.	Lord Isla[11]
John Areskin	Carried Arms two or three years in Holland. Nephew to Lord Buchan & black Coll. Areskine.	

[6] William Mills and St. John Leader were attached to the Pennsylvania contingent. (See page —.)

[7] John, 2nd. Duke of Argyll, commanded the Royal Army in the Jacobite insurrection of 1715 and fought the battle of Sherriffmuir. In 1735-6 he became Field Marshal in the British Army.

[8] Lieut.-Gen. George Wade's Regt. of Horse.

[9] Brig.-Gen. Charles Otway's Regt. of Foot (aftewards 35th Foot.).

[10] Sir Alexander Colyear's Scotch Regt. in Holland.

[11] Earl of Islay, aft'ds. 3rd Duke of Argyll.

Names of Gent Carrying Arms	*Date of Service and Character*	*By whom recommended*
Hugh Lyon.	A sober pretty Gent. has carried Arms twenty years in Maj^{r} Genl Campbel's Reg^{t} & in great esteem with all the Officers.	
John Abernethy.	A very discreet young Gent. has carried Arms five years in Maj^{r} Genl Campbel's Reg^{t} & behav'd to the satisfaction of all his Officers.	Maj Campbel Gen.
Ja^{s} Pope.	A Young Gent. son to And^{r} Pope Capt L^{t} in Lt Gen. Tyrell's Reg^{t} of foot[12], he has serv'd three years in Brig^{dr} Halket's Reg^{t} in the Dutch service to the satisfaction of his Coll. & all his Officers.	
Wm Hepburn.	Carried Arms five years in Maj^{r} Gen. Legonier's Reg^{t}[13] & two years in the Duke of Argyle's,[14] a very sober young man and has always behav'd to the satisfaction of his Officers.	Recommended by the Officers of both Reg^{mts}
Saml Hall.	A sober pretty young man understands the discipline of the Army, carried arms seventeen years in Coll. Blakeney's Reg^{t}[15].	
John Hall.	Carried Arms in Coll. Blakeney's Reg^{t} 13 years & always behav'd to the satisfaction of his Officers.	
Wm Havaland.	A pretty young Gent. has carried Arms in Coll. Handyside's Reg^{t}[16] seven years, his Father is Capt in the same Reg^{t}.	Coll. Blakeney[15]

[12] Lieut.-Gen. James Tyrrell's Regt. of Foot.
[13] Baj.-Gen. John Ligonier's Regt. of Horse.
[14] Duke of Argyll's Royal Regt. of Horse Guards.
[15] Brig.-Gen. William Blakeney served in Royal Irish Regt. of Foot in 1699, in 1st. Foot Guards in 1708, Col. of the Inniskilling Regt. from 1737, and was Brig.-Gen. in the Carthagena Expedition. He was created Baron Blakeney in 1756, died in 1761 and was bur. in Westminster Abbey.
[16] Col. Roger Handasyde's Regt. of Foot, or Col. Wm. Handasyde's Regt. of Foot. (aftds. 31st Foot.)

Names of Gen! Carrying Arms	*Date of Service and Character*	*By whom recommended*
Rob[t] Cathcart.	Carried Arms first in the Reg[t] now commanded by Coll. Handyside when Coll: Blakeney was L[t] Coll: to it, is now in the Carabiners & has serv'd seventeen years with the Approbation & esteem of his Offic[rs].	
Ja[s] Stewart.	Brother to S[r] Rob[t] Stewart, carried Arms seven years in Coll: Handyside's Reg[t] under Coll: Blakeney & behav'd himself to the satisfaction of his Officers.	
Fran. Howard.	Grand Nephew to Gen[l] Gorge, a sober sensible young man understands the discipline of the Army carried Arms six years in Coll. Bland's Reg[t].[17]	Coll. Bland[17]
W[m] Pringle.	A Gent of very good family carried Arms eleven years in Coll: John Campbel's Reg[t] & has behaved so well as to have the Esteem of all his Officers.	Recommended by the Officers of the Reg[t]
Limpany(?) White.	A Gent of family, carried Arms seven years in Coll. Braggs Reg[t][18] & behav'd to y[e] satisfaction of his Officers, is now in Coll. Lowther's Reg[t] of Marines.[19]	Coll. Lowther.

ADJUTANTS AND SURGEON.

James Smollet.	Eldest son to S[r] W[m] Nairn Baron[t], he carried arms sever[l] years in the Scotch Dutch and is recommended by	The Duke of Athol.

[17] Col. Humphrey Bland's Regt. of Foot, (aftds. 36th Foot.)
[18] Col. Jhillip Bragg's Regt. of Foot (aftds. 28th Foot.)
[19] Colonel Anthony Lowther's Regt. of Marines.

Names of Gent Carrying Arms	*Date of Service and Character*	*By whom recommended*
Rich[d] George de la Vallee.	Son to Cap[t] La Vallee of L[t] Gen[l] Kerr's Reg[t][20], he carried arms in that Corps several years & is recommended by	L[t] Coll: Foukes
Hugh Campbel.	Carried Arms a great many Years and one of those approv'd by his Majesty for a Lieu[t] but was struck out to make way for M[r] Ereskine, a recommendation of the Earl of Islay's.	Maj[r] Gen[l] Campbel
James Mercer[21].	A Clever Active man of a good family who carried Arms in the Scotch Dutch several years and lately in the Scotch Fuziliers. Was Succeeded as Adjutant 18 July 1742, and was placed on Half Pay of Gooch's American Regiment. Capt. (from Half Pay) to 48th Foot. 25 June 1744-1758. Died 1758.	John Campbel
Doct[r] Tho[s] Dundass, Surgeon.	A Gentleman of good family who studied Physick under Doc[tr] Boerhave in Holland, & Surgery att Edinburgh & Paris, has practis'd several years in both with great approbation & has been eight year a Surgeon in the Army, recommended by	Lord Cadogan

Field Officers of Maj[r] Gen[l]

L[t]. Collonels	*Spotswood's Reg[t].*	Recommend[d] by
Henry Cope.	Was Ensign in Gen[l] Webb's Reg[t] in Flanders in the year 1706, he	

[20] Maj.-Gen. William Kerr's Regt. of Dragoons.

[21] James Mercer, son of John Mercer, of Dublin, and brother of John Mercer, of Marlborough, Stafford County, Va., was a resident of Virginia before 1740 and left the colony as an officer in a company raised for the operations against Carthagina. He returned to America in 1755 as Captain in the 18th Regiment of Foot, Col. Dunbar, in the expedition against Fort Duquesne, and continued in service until his death in 1758 or 1759, when he was a Major. (*French and Indian War Land Bounty Warrants, Va. State Land Office.*)

Names of Gent Carrying Arms	*Date of Service and Character*	*By whom recommended*
	afterwards serv'd in Spain till the end of the Warr, was made Major to Gen[l] Whatham's Reg[t] 1715, is very well known in North America. Att present L[t] Governour of Placentia, a cleare cool headed determinate Gallant man.	Maj[r] Gen. Legonier.
——— Harding.	Who serv'd during all the Warr in Spain with great reputation att Alicant after Maj[r] Gen[l] Richards and most of the Officers were blown up he defended the place till Gen[l] Stanhope came up, was afterwards Maj[r] to S[r] Charl[s] Hothams Reg[t] of foot.	Gen[l] Wade.
John L[d] Colvil.		
John Johnson.		Lord Cathcart
Majors.		
Geo. Martin.	Was after many years service as a Subaltern made Cap[t] in Dubourgay's Reg[t] in 1718 & now has a Company in Maj[r] Gen[l] Armstrong's, he has been all over the West Indies & is universally Esteem'd for a sensible man and a good Officer.	Coll: Wynyard and Coll. Onslow.
John Leighton.	Was made Ensign in Spain in 1705, in 1708 was made a Lieu[t] of foot, in 1709 was made a Lieu[t] of Dragoons, in 1725 had a Company in L[t] Gen[l] Tyrrell's Reg[t] where he now serves and always with the reputation of a Clever man & an excellent Officer.	Lord Harrington.
John Sprainger.	Had the Company of Grenadiers in Coll. Onslow's Reg[t] for 20 years since the year 1719. Is a Cap[t] on half pay, a clever Active diligent good Officer.	Lord Shannon.
Charles Whitefoord.		by Lord Cathcart

The following lists are taken from the Public Record Office, (T.—1/315.)

List of those Officers of Col° Gooch's late American Regim^t^ with their particular Pretentions, and the Station each Served in before he belong'd to the said Regiment, Examined before a Board of General Officers at the Horse Guards on the 12th of Jan^ry^ 1743.

Officers Names. *Observations.*

Major

Robert Ellison. Made Ensign in Tattan's Regiment in 1731, Second Lieutenant in 1732 and first Lieut^t^ in 1738, in the Royal Welsh Fuziliers, Captain in Robinson's Marines 1739, in which last Regiment he went abroad, and exchanged into Guize's,[22] and was afterwards appointed Major to this Regiment. Maj^r^ Genl Wentworth acquainted the Board that he Served well during the whole Expedition & gave him an exceed^g^ good Charact^r^.

Captain

Richd Bushrod[23]. Lived in Virginia upon his own Fortune, Raised his Company there at his own expence, served in the whole Expedition, and Major Genl Wentworth gave him a good Character.

Captain

Willm Cosby[24]. Was High Sherriff of the City and County of New York, and also Clerk of the Crown and Peace for the County of Salem in New Jerzey. Employments of considerable Profit, which he quitted to go upon the Expedition to the West Indies, and raised his Company

[22] John Guise, of the 1st Foot Guards until 1 Nov. 1738, when he became Colonel of the 6th Foot.

[23] Richard Bushrod, of Westmoreland County, Va., was a son of Richard Bushrod who married Elizabeth Kenner and who died in or before 1711.

[24] Captain William Cosby was the son of Governor Cosby, of New York, and was granted the freedom of the City of New York on 2 September 1735; his appointment by his father as High Sheriff was made on 29 of the same month.

at his own Expence, Major General Wentworth gave him a very good Character.

Captain

Thoˢ. Addison[25]. A Gentleman residing upon his Estate in Maryland. Raised his Company at his own Expence, was wounded upon the Attack of Fort Lazare, and Major Genˡ Wentworth gave him a good Character.

Captain

John Lloyd. Lived in Maryland upon his own Fortune, where he Raised his Company at his own expence, was upon Service during the whole Expedition. Majʳ Genˡ Wentworth and Brigʳ Genˡ Blakeney gave him a good Character.

Lieutenant

Lewis Brown. Went out from England with the King's Commission to be a Lieutenant in this Regiment, he was afterwards appointed Quarter Master and Acted as such without Pay at a very great expence, and when the Expedition was over he went to Genˡ Oglethorpe at Georgia to offer his Service as a Voluntier. Major General Wentworth and Brigʳ Genˡ Blakeney gave him a good Character.

Lieutᵗ

Marshall Davis. Lived upon his Fortune in New Jerzey, where he was born, had a Lieutenᵗˢ Commission given him by the Governʳ of that Province, and went upon the Expedition. He appeal'd to Major Genˡ Wentworth and Brigʳ Genˡ Blakeney as to his Behaviour, who gave him a good Character. [He cannot be traced in New Jersey.[26]—E. A. J.]

[25] A member of the prominent Maryland family of the name.

[26] If Pennsylvania refused to support this expediiion, its neighbour New Jersey, sent men in response to the proclamation of Governor Lewis Morris, dated 18 April 1740, in which he urged the enlistment of patriotic Jerseymen to join the expedition, and for this purpose appointed David Provoost, of Bergen county, as one of the persons to enlist volunteers. (W. Nelson, *N. J. Biog. & Gen. Notes*, 1916, p. 178.)

Lieut.

Hugh Rose.[27] Lived in Virginia upon his Fortune, and Rais'd 20 Men for His Majesty's Service, had an Ensigns Commission given him by Col° Gooch, and afterwards was made a Lieutenant, Major Genl Wentworth and Brig^r^ General Blakeney gave him a good Character.

Willm Ogilvie. Was born in New York and lived there upon a small Fortune, and Carryed Arms 6 years in an Independent Company there. He was appointed an Ensign in this Regiment, and went from that Province upon the Expedition and was afterwards made a Lieutenant. Major Genl Wentworth and Brig^r^ Genl Blakeney gave him a good Character.

Lieu^t^

John Dalrymple. Served as a Voluntier five years in Genl Colyears Regiment of Foot in the Dutch Service in Flanders, was made an Ensign in this Regiment & afterwards a Lieutenant by Major Genl Wentworth, who gave him a good Character.

Lieu^t^

Robert Lowe. Was a Merchant at Philadelphia. Raised 30 Men at his own expence for his Majesty's Service & went Voluntier upon the Expedition. Major Genl Wentworth made him an Ensign.

Lieu^t^

Thomas Dyson. Carryed Arms five years in Lieu^t^ Genl Phillips's Reg^t^ at Annapolis Royal [Nova Scotia], went from thence a Voluntier upon the Expedition, and upon the Recommendation of Brig^r^ Genl Blakeney was made a Lieutenant. The Majors Genl Wentworth & Guize and Brig^r^ Genl Blakeney, gave him a good Character.

[27] Hugh Rose was possibly a brother of the well known Rev. Robert Rose. The latter's son, Hugh, was not born until after 1740.

[28] Col. Richard Phillips raised a regiment, afterwards known as the 40th Foot. He was Governor of Nova Scotia, 1717-49.

Lieu[t]

John Gibson. Went a Voluntier upon the Expedition & Carryed Arms, Major Gen[l] Wentworth made him an Ensign and afterwards promoted him to a Lieutenancy. The said Major General with Major General Guize, and Brig[r] Gen[l] Blakeney gave him a good Character.

Lewis Mulholland. He is the Son of a Gentleman of a good Family in Ireland, who left him a small Fortune; He went at his own expence to Jamaica to Serve as a Voluntier upon the Expedition, and Served as such 7 Months, Major General Wentworth made him an Ensign, and afterwards a Lieutenant and gave him a good Character, as did also Major Gen[l] Guize & Brig[r] Gen[l] Blakeney.

Lieu[t]

Henry Greeme. He went from Scotland to serve as a Voluntier upon the Expedition, was appointed an Ensign, & afterwards a Lieutenant by Maj[r] Gen[l] Wentworth, and also Served as Quarter Master without Pay. Major General Wentworth gave him a good Character, and Brig[r] Gen[l] Blakeney did the same.

Ensign

Ammi Wise. Being pitch'd upon by Gov[r] Belcher and the Council as a fit Person, Raised at Boston in New England a compleat Company of 100 Men and Trained & Disciplin'd them for the Service, which was afterwards Broke by the said Governours Order without any reason given, as appears to this Board, to the Truth of which he produced Authentick Vouchers. Notwithstanding these hardships he went a Voluntier upon the Expedition with some Recruits he helped to Raise, and being Recommended to Major Gen[l] Wentworth was made an Ensign; the said Maj[r] Gen[l] Wentworth and Brigadier Gen[l] Blakeney gave him a good Character.

Ensign

John Pinhorn. His Father was a Lieutenant of an Independant Company. He went from New York upon the Expedition a Voluntier with some Recruits, Recommended by Lieu[t] Governor Clarke [of New York] to Major General Wentworth, who made him an Ensign and gave him a good Character.

Ensign

Gerard Duseign. Was appointed by Gov[r] Trelawney to Act as a Lieutenant in an Independant Company at Jamaica, in which he Served two years & half, afterwards at the request of said Governour he Commanded a Company of Negros at Cuba, and upon his Return was made an Ensign by Major General Wentworth in this Regiment, in which he served during the Expedition. Major General Wentworth gave him a good Character.

Captain

W[m] Hopkins[29]. Was a Member of the General Court of His Majesty's Colony of Rhode Island, & a Lieut. Colonel of the Malitia and lived upon his Patrimony there. Raised his Company at his own Expence. His Commission bears date the 9th of June 1740. Major Gen[l] Wentworth says he behaved well upon the Expedition, and being a diligent Officer was employed by his order in recruiting at New York, Rhode Island &c and did good Service.

[29] Mr. Howard M. Chapin, Librarian Rhode Island Historical Society, writes:

"I presume that the Capt. William Hopkins is probably the brother of Esek Hopkins the first Commodore of the American Navy and Stephen Hopkins, Governor of Rhode Island and signer of the Declaration of Independence. An examination of the printed Hopkins Genealogy might settle this question.

A William Hopkins, probably the same man, was Captain of one of the Rhode Island Companies in 1740 and Commander of the Privateer Prince Frederick in 1743. See the list of Rhode Island Soldiers & Sailors in King George's War. This list also mentions a William Smith who was Captain of one of the Rhode Island Companies at Louisbourg in 1745.

Some years ago I received a letter from someone compiling a genealogy of the Brenton & Allied Families but I think that that person lived in England."

Captain

Tho. Clark.[80] Serv'd formerly in the Navy, and at the time this Regiment was Raised was Sherriff of the County of Huntington in the New Jerseys, Rais'd his Company at his own Expence in Pensilvania & went upon the Expedition. Major Gen[l] Wentworth says he behaved well, his Commission is dated the 7th of June 1740.

Captain

W[m] McKnight.[80] Was in a profitable Station as a Merchant & Factor at Philadelphia & produced a Commission dated the 9th of Jany 1740/1 Raised his Company at his own Expence and was upon the Expedition. Major General Wentworth gave him a good Character.

Captain

Rob[t] Farmer.[81] Lived at New Jersey upon his Fortune &

[80] Although the Assembly of Pennsylvania refused to raise soldiers or to contribute a farthing for this expedition (*A Brief State of the Prov. of Penna.*, 1756, p. 12), several officers volunteered for active service and were appointed as follows:

Captains: William McKnight, Thomas Clarke (probably the Sheriff of Hunterdon county, New Jersey).

First Lieuts.: Archibald Graham, St. John Leader (see list), and William Mills (see list).

Ensigns: Edward Harrison, Richard Cager, George Barr, Peter Grung, Vint. Marshall and Charles Mathew.

Other officers were, Captains Robert Bishop, Archibald Gordon (believed to be the son of Patrick Gordon, Lieut.-Governor of the Province). Thomas Freame, who married Margaretta, sister of Thomas Penn, one of the joint Proprietors, and died probably in 1744. (*Penna. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 191), and Thomas Lawrie, who resigned his office as Secretary of Pennsylvania, to go to this war. The following Second Lieuts. were included: John Clifford, Robert Spicer. Henry Hodge, James Sandilands, Anthony Palmer (of the Middle Temple, barrister-at-law), Thomas Berkeley (brother-in-law of Anthony Palmer) and James Foster, and also Ensign Enos Dexter, all of whom were residents of Pennsylvania. (C. P. Keith, *Chronicles of Penna.*, 1688-1748 (1917), p. 809).

One Captain Thinn, a Scotch gentleman, went from Philadelphia in command of a company on this expedition (*Letters of William Allen*, ed. by L. B. Walker, 1897, p. 18).

[81] Captain Robert Farmer was the son of Thomas Farmer, formerly of Staten Island, second Judge and afterwards Presiding Judge of the Provincial Court of N. J. In 1742 he was raising recruits for military duty in N. J., but his subsequent career is unknown. (Ex. inform. Mr. A. Van Doren Honeyman).

raised his Compy at his own Expence, was in every Expedition, his Commission's dated the 10th January 1740/1. Major Genl Wentworth gave him a very good Character.

Captain

John Milburn. Liv'd at Maryland upon his own Estate, rais'd his Company at his own Expence, was on Duty in the Expedition till the Regiment was reduced, and Major Genl Wentworth gave him a good Character, his Commission's dated the 9th June 1740.

Lieutenant

Anto Palmer.[30] Bred to the Law, was Instrumental in raising the Company at Pensilvania, was upon the Expedition. Produced his Commission dated the 10th of Janury, 1740/1 and Major Genl Wentworth says he did his duty very well.

Lieutenant

Joshua Barker.[32] Carry'd Arms in the Indian War, and had the care of a Gun Foundry in New England before this Regiment was raised, his Commission is dated the 10th of Janry 1740/1, was upon the Expedition, and Major Genl Wentworth gave him a good Character.

Lieutenant

Marmaduke Foster. Liv'd with his Father upon his means, was raised with this Regiment as an Ensign & after-

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[32] Joshua Barker, son of Captain Thomas and Bethia Barker, was born at Pembroke, Mass., 26 August 1712 and died 1 Jany. 1785, aged 72. He was an officer in the Colonial Wars and a Loyalist in the Revolution. (*Hist. of Hingham*). He was a Lieut. in Capt. John Winslow's company for this expedition. There is a copy of the grant of land in N. H. for his services in the French War.

[33] Lieutenant Lewis Stevens is supposed to have been the son of John Stevens and Ann Campbell and to have been born at Perth Amboy, N. J,. in 1720. If this identification should prove to be correct, his brother was John Stevens (1716-1792), a member of the Continental Congress. (Ex. inform. Mr. A. Van Doren Honeyman).

wards made a Lieutenant by Gen[l] Wentworth at Carthagena, who gave him a good Character, his Commission is dated the 16th of April 1741.

Lieutenant

Lewis Stevens[83]. Liv'd with his Father upon his Fortune in New Jersey, was raised with the Regiment as an Ensign & afterwards promoted to a Lieutenants Commission by Major Gen[l] Wentworth who gave him a good Character.

Lieutenant

W[m] Smith. Lived at Providence near Rhode Island, upon his means, was raised with the Regiment as an Ensign & afterwards was promoted to a Lieutenantcy by Major General Wentworth who gave him a good Character.

Lieutenant

John Vryling[84]. Was a Merchant at Boston in New England, was raised with the Regiment as an Ensign, & afterwards made a Lieutenant by General Wentworth at

[84] John Vryling, son of John and Mary (Alford) Vryling was born 9 Feb. 1714. He was appointed Ensign in Captain (Dr.) George Stewart's Company for this expedition. In the Records of the Council and in the Massachusetts Archives, under date of 7 July 1740, appears the following list of officers appointed to serve as Captains or Commanders of Companies (to be by them raised) for this expedition:

Captain Daniel Goffe, of Boston.
Captain Stephen Richards, of Boston.
Colonel John Prescott, of Concord.
Major Ammi Ruhamah Wise, of Ipswich.
Mr. Joshua Barker, of Pembroke.
Mr. Timothy Ruggles, of Sandwich.
Mr. Thomas Phillips, of Boston.
Mr. John Furney of Boston (?John Vryling).
Dr. George Stewart, of Boston.

To this list the name of Captain Caleb Blodgett was afterwards added.

Major Wise was a merchant who was removed from his office as Justice of the Peace on 1 January 1741, because of his connection with the Land Bank. He was a Representative to the General Court, 1739-1740, and died, 6 July 1749, aged 61. Ensign Ammi Wise was perhaps his son or the Major himself. (Ex. inform. Mr. Frederick W. Cook; Waters, *Hist. of Ipswich; Hammatt Papers;* W. K. Watkins, *Mass. in the Expedtn. under Vernon* in *Soc. of Colonial Wars in the Commonwealth of Mass.*, 1900, pp. 5-64.

Jamaica the 24th June 1741. Major Gen[l] Wentworth says he behaved very well, and was particularly usefull in Recruiting.

Lieutenant

Simon Diles[35]. Had a Plantation in New England, was raised as an Ensign with the Regiment, & was afterwards made Lieutenant by General Wentworth the 26th of June 1742. Major General Wentworth gave him a good Character.

Lieutenant

Thomas Lloyd. Was Bred a Merchant at South Carolina, went out a Volunteer upon the Expedition, was made first an Ensign and then a Lieutenant by Major General Wentworth who gave him a good Character.

Lieutenant

And[w] McKettrick. A Surgeon by his Profession, was raised as an Ens[n] with the Regiment, & made a Lieutenant by General Wentworth upon the Expedition. Major General Wentworth gave him a good Character.

Ensign

Thom[s] Marshall. Captain Clark (in whose Company he served) appearing for him, with M[r] Howard an Apothecary in the Strand who acquainted the Board that M[r] Marshall is dangerously ill & he apprehends his illness proceeds from the wounds he receiv'd at Fort S[t] Lazare, being there Shot through his Body. His Commission was given him by Gen[l] Wentworth & dated the 30th of Decem[r] 1741, after having carried Arms 2 years. Major Gen[l] Wentworth says he behaved well.

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[35] Simon Diles is mentioned in an account [in the Archives of Mass.] presented by Timothy Ruggles for subsisting men from the time of their enlistment to 18 August 1740. (Ex. inform. Mr. Frederic W. Cook.)

Ensign
John Farmer. Was Bred a Surgeon, went a Volunteer with the Regim[t] & Major General Wentworth appointed him an Ens[n] the 27 August 1742, who says he behaved well.

Robert Pateshall. Produced a Commission sign'd by Major General Wentworth and dated the 16 April 1741. The Board being informed that the said Pateshall had not been with the Regiment in the West Indies, upon which the said Pateshall alledged that soon after he received the said Commission from L[t] Colonel Cope, which was sent to him at Boston, he had orders from the said Lieut. Col[o] to stay there and assist Captain Winslow in Raising Recruits for the Regiment which Duty Captain Winslow[86] at the Board said he did perform, upon which Major General Wentworth acquainted the Board that he had given the said Lieut. Col[o] Cope nor Captain Winslow no such orders, and further said that the said L[t] Colonel Cope upon his application to him did obtain two Ensigns Commissions for two young Gentlemen. That some time after the said Major General being inform'd that those two young Gentlemen had never appeared to those Commissions, and upon enquiry finding the Information true, he ordered them to be Superceeded.

Officers returned to England and have not been Examined.
L[t] Col[o] William Merrick
Captain John Prescott. Died 24 Janry 1743/4
Lieuten[ts] Thomas Lynn
Walter Chaloner
Ensign William Murray

The name of one officer in this American Regiment has come down, in that of Captain Robert Halton, who appointed James

[86] Captain John Winslow.

Craven, of Edenton, North Carolina, as the administrator of his estate. (British Museum: Addl. Charters, 5976.)

ADDITIONS.

By W. G. Stanard.

It is singular that the names of several Virginia officers who certainly took part in the Carthagena expedition do not appear in these lists. Mr. Jones writes:

> "Your letter of Oct. 20 has come today. I had noticed the omission of the name of Lawrence Washington and others from the list but I assumed that the list of *recommendations* for commissions was incomplete and that the other list referred to officers who came to London afterwards. Anyhow, these two lists are all that remain in the Public Record Office. Earlier lists, containing Lawrence Washington and the others could not be found.
>
> This will, I hope, enable you to add a note of explanation."

In a badly worn Council Journal, now in the State Library appears the following under date, August 6, 1740:

"Captains to be commissioned: Lawrence Washington, Charles Walker, Richard Bushrod and * * * Mercer.

Lieutenants: Francis Moss, * * * Bellamy & Lewis Browne.

Ensigns: William Fitzhugh, Hugh Rose, * * * Young & * * * Pilott.

Mr. Kennon agrees to let the Snow Phenix to be imployed as a Transport upon the same Terms as were agreed by Capt Hutchins & to be ready to take the men now raised on board by the 20th of this Month". (*Va. Magazine of History and Biography,* XV, 6).

Moncure D. Conway's *Barons of the Potomack and Rappahannock,* has on pp. 100, 102, 103, 104, 110, 111, &c., notices of Lawrence Washington's service. Joseph Deane, in a letter from Whitehaven, July 24, 1741, says: "It was a very great pleasure and satisfaction to me as to all your friends in having the favour of yours from the Harbour of Carthagena ye 31 March last, and tho wee have not had that favour repeated, and great misfortune and mortality hath attended you, yet I hope to God you are still in being.

We have had dismall accounts, how to judge is very uncertain . . . I hear Col[nl] Gouge hath wrote to England and accused you Virginians of Cowardice, and that they are all most of them back. I hope it is not true."

Alexander Wilson, Queen Street, Westminster, Nov. 6, 1742, writing "To Capt. Lau. Washington of Col. Gooch's Regiment of Foot. Per Captain Fitzhugh", says, "This comes with your Accot. of Clearing from the date of your Commission to 24 December 1740. Balance whereof is Eighteen Pounds four shilling and 1/2 and waits your order".

General Thomas Wentworth, wrote from London, April 1, 1743, to Lawrence Washington:

"I am favoured with yours of Jan. 17th, which gives me a great deal of pleasure as it confirms the account of your safe arrivall in Virginia with the soldiers committed to your charge."

Deane, writing again from Whitehaven, Nov. 6, 1744, says:

"We have a company of Blackney's Regiment in this Town and the Captain's name is Gordon. He tells me he knew you very well."

A former fellow officer, T. Stafford, writes from Montrose, Nov. 13, 1749. He begins his letter:

"Dear Captain,

You'l excuse my not giving you your proper title, as I dare say you are long before this become a Colonel . . . Most of our Corps y[t] are living are in the Army, very few in the reduction on half pay." He says Mercer is the only one who has become a line officer, and that Lowry, Milbourn and

Poins are dead. "Pay my compliments to Fitzhugh who I hear has beat up the quarters of a Widow, to whom I wish all happiness".

William Fitzhugh (born 1721, died Feb. 11, 1798), was son of George Fitzhugh, of Stafford County, Va. After the Carthagena expedition he remained on half-pay. Governor Sharp, of Maryland, writing Jan. 12, 1755, says that Captain Fitzhugh, a half-pay officer residing in Virginia, had offered his services in the war against the French and Indians. William Fitzhugh married (1st) Mch. 28, 1744, Martha, daughter of Richard Lee, and widow of George Turberville, and (2nd) Jan. 7, 1752, Anne, daughter of Peregrine Frisby, of Cecil Co., Md., and widow of John Rousby, of "Rousby Hall", Calvert County. Soon after his second marriage he removed to Maryland, where he was a member of the Council of the Colony and the State, and of the Revolutionary Convention of August, 1776.

VIRGINIA QUIT RENT ROLLS, 1704

(Continued)

An Alphabetical List of the Quit Rents of Norfolk County, 1704.

A	Acres
Ashley, Dennis	150
Avis, Widd°	50
Adam, Wm.	100
Alexander, John	300
B	
Barington, Wm.	100
Barties, Robt.	150
Bull [Butt?], Robt. Sen.	1050
Blanch, Wm.	100
Bond, Wm.	200
Brown, Widd°	270
Bruce, Abr.	1010
Brown, Wm.	100
Bowers, Jn°	166
Bolton, Wm.	212
Bryon, Roger	200
Bayley, Walter	290
Bruce, Jn°	300
Bishop, Wm.	100
Bull [Butt?] Henry	1500
Bucken, Wm.	410
Babington, Thos.	150
Balington, Jn°	150
Balington, Rich^{d}	50
Burges, Geo.	200

Burges, Robt.	535
Butt, Rich^{d}	1840
Brown, Edwd	300
Bigg, Tho.	100
Balingtine, Alexander	300
Balingtine, Geo.	510
Bull [Butt?] Tho.	2200
Bramble, Henry	100
Blake, Arthur	200
Bolton, Rich^{d}	700
Branton, Jno.	330
Bacheldon, Joseph	300
Bush, Sam^{ll} Maj^{r}	1628
Balingtine, W^{m}	60
Bowles, Henry	330

C

Cartwright, Peter	1050
Cooper, W^{m}	150
Cooper, Jno.	150
Cramore, Geo.	100
Carling, Walter	50
Carling, Joseph	200
Curch [Church], Rich^{d}	1050
Churey, Widd^{o}	600
Cuthrell, Going	470
Chekmore, Edwd	800
Cartwright, Widd^{o}	800
Corprew, Jno.	650
Corprew, Tho.	650
Crekmore, Jno	750
Caswell, Widd^{o}	350
Colley, Jno	100
Cottell, Tho.	200
Corden, Tho.	390
Conner, Lewis	2200

Carney Rich^{d}	100
Carney, Jno.	100
Collins, Wm.	100
Crekmore, Edwd	690
Charleton, Jno	50
Cutrell, Tho.	150
Chapman, Rich^{d}	50
Churey, Tho.	100
Churey, Jno	150

D

Dixon, Jno	300
Davis, Wm. Senr	250
Davis, Wm.	158
Dresdall, Robt.	318
Davis, Tho.	332
Doonall, Wm.	100
Davis, Edwd	300
Dalley, Henry	1524
Dalley, Wm.	156
Davis, Tho.	340
Denby, Edwd	100
Daniell, Hugh	100

E

Etherdge, Tho., Cooper	75
Etherdge, Tho. B. R.	50
Etherdge, Tho. Senr	34
Etherdge, Tho. Junr	33
Etherdge, Edwd	66
Etherdge, Wm.	250
Etherdge, Wm Junr	80
Etherdge, Marmaduke	525
Edmonds, John	50
Ellis, Wm.	200

Etherdge, Edwd, Cooper	200
Estwood, Thomas	170
Estwood, John	75
Etherdge, Edwd Senr	33
Edw^{ds}, John	250
Etherdge, Charles	75
Evans, Abigall	100
Furgeson, Tho.	100
Freeman, Jno	190
Foreman, Alexand^{r}	750
Foster, Henry	1000
Ferbey [Ferebee?] Jno	500
Fulsken [Fulcher?] Jno	1396

G

Godfry, Waren	350
Godfry, John	1470
Godfry, Matthew	450
Grefen, Jno	200
Garen, Dan^{ll}	50
Guy, Jno	110
Gwin, W^{m}	350
Gilligan, Ferdinando	182
Gilligan, John	200
Grimes, James	0150
Grimes, John	050
Guy, James	100
Herbert, Thomas	150
Hayes, Wm.	200
Harris, John	110
Holyday, Jno	440
Hodges, Joseph	50
Hoges [Hodges?], Tho.	407
Hoges [Hodges?] John	526
Hollowell, Jno Senr	524
Hollygood, Tho.	100
Hollowell, Jno.	200

Holsted, Henry	633
Hollowell, Joseph	1280
Holsted, John	350
Hues, Edwd	1404
Hullett, Jno	300
Hodges, Roger	109
Hodges, Tho.	50
Hodges, Rich^{d}	375
Harvey, Rich^{d}	265
Handberry, ———	300
Hollowell, Elener	1550
Herbert, Jno	400
Hargrave, Benj^{a}	250
Hartwell, Rich^{d}	150
Henland, Jno	800
Ivy, Geo.	496
Jackson, Symon	720
Ives, Tim^{o}	400
Ives, Tim^{o} Junr	100
Ives, John	434
Johnston, John	275
Johnston, Mercey	275
Jolef, Tho.	200
Joyce, Jno	200
Jolef, Jno Junr	300
Jennings, Henry	100
Jolef, Jno Senr	840
Kaine, Rich^{d}	50
Langley, W^{m}	1487
Langley, Tho.	878
Loveney, James	100
Luelling, Edwd	315
Luelling, Rich^{d}	200

Lovell, Widd^{o}	740
Low, Henry	191
Lane, Robt.	460
Ludgall, Matthew	250
Levinia, John	510
Lenton, Wm.	150
Mercer, Tho.	600
Manning, Tho.	97
Maning, Nich^{o}	260
Mones, Joseph	73
Matthias, Matthew	100
Miller, Wm.	1090
Miller, Jno	200
Miller, Widd^{o}	100
Murden, Widd^{o}	2000
Miller, Tho.	1050
Maund, W^{m}	200
Maning, Jno Senr	300
Miller, Joseph	882
Mocoy, Dennis Senr & Junr	160
Mohan, James	100
Mufrey, Alex^{dr}	800
Maning, Jno Junr	100
Moseley, Widd^{o}	300
Miller, Widd^{o} Senr	200
Mason, Tho.	125
Mason, Lemuell	400
Mason, Tho.	653
Mason, Geo.	300
Mockey, Adam	400
Newton, Geo.	1119
Nicholson, Jno	160
Nash, Tho.	50
Nicholson, Henry	320
Nash, Rich^{d}	100

Nicholson, Wm.	300
Norcote, Tho.	273
Outlow, Edwd	208
Owens, Wm.	650
Odyan, Wm.	200
Pearce, Wm.	100
Peters, Widd^{o}	698
Portlock, ———	360
Porter, Sam^{ll}	100
Prescot, Moses	1200
Philpot, Rich^{d}	200
Powell, Rich^{d}	100
Powell, Lemuell	246
Powell, Wm.	624
Perkins, Wm.	50
Patison, Robt.	350
Roberts, Jos.	100
Robert, Sam^{ll}	800
Rose, Robt.	385
Rose, Jno	60
Randall, Giles	150
Richardson, Tho.	379
Spring, Robt.	98
Spevey, Matt.	600
Smith, John	127
Scott, Tho.	400
Smith, Rich^{d}	600
Smith, John	200
Silvester, Rich^{d}	1280
Smith, John Senr.	1200
Sickes [Sykes], Walt^{r} Senr.	550
Sickes [Sykes], Jno	200
Sugg, George	408

Sugg, W^{m}	200
Sayer, Francis	600
Smith, Humphrey	100
Standbro, Jno	40
Standley, Rich^{d}	200
Sharples, Henry	100
Sugg, Joseph	300
Symons, Thomas	166
Symon, James	200
Sparrow,M^{t}	350
Tuker [Tucker] W^{m}	100
Thornton, Francis	200
Thurston, Matthew	100
Theobald, James	140
Thellaball, Widd^{o}	600
Tuker [Tucker] Rich^{d}	100
Tuker [Tucker] Tho.	280
Taylor, Jno	100
Taylor, Rich^{d}	75
Tully, Jno	165
Tarte, Elezar Senr	300
Taylor, Andrew	222
Tuker [Tucker], Jno	400
Tart, Alice	300
Tarte, Elezar Junr	595
Taylor, W^{m}	265
Trigoney, Henry	200
Velle, Morriss	335
Walice, Tho.	150
Weston, Edwd	100
Willoughby, Tho. Coll.	3200
Wishart, John	150
Woodly, Robt.	350
Williams, John	125

Wilder, Mich.	200
Watkins, Tho.	190
Williamson, Jn°	750
Whedon, Jn° Jr.	100
Willoughby, Tho. Capt.	660
Whedon, Wm.	200
West, John	500
Watson, Robt.	80
Wallis, Rich^{d}	250
Wallis, Jn°	135
Wallis, W^{m}	450
Whithurst, Rich^{d}	150
Whithurst, W^{m}	150
Wilkins, W^{m}	200
Williams, John	200
Whedbey, Geo.	200
Worden, James	400
Wilson, James jun^{r}	200
Wilson, Lemuell	300
Wilson, James Coll.	2800
Woodward, Henry	280
Whedon, Jn° Junr	320
White, Patrick	500
Willis, John	470
Wildey, Dorothy	25
Ward, Jn°	320
Wakfield, Tho.	40
Wilden, Nath.	100
Wooding, Tho.	170
Wood, Edwd	100
Watford, Joseph	97
Wate, John	400
Wright, W^{m}	574
Wright, James	216
Wadborn, Mich.	500
Wins, Jane	400
Webb, Mary	100

Worminton, John	200
Wilden, Francis	100
Widdick, Henrey	343
	113684
New Discovered Land	1615
	112069

An Acct of the Land belonging to Such persons out of the County and also others out of the Country

Coll. Cary	
Tully Robinson	
James Daves	
Robt Berrey	95
Jn° Bennett	33
Coll Nasareth [Norsworthy]	400
Cornelius Tullery	150

James Wilson
Sherriff

(To be continued)

PARSON WAUGH'S TUMULT

A CHAPTER FROM "LANDMARKS OF OLD PRINCE WILLIAM."

BY FAIRFAX HARRISON.

The embers of Bacon's rebellion smoldered on the Potomac for some years after order had been officially restored in 1677. This was due partly to the undisciplined character of the frontier population but chiefly to the diligent stirring of discontent by that "rank Baconist," Josias Fendall, during the years of his exile from Maryland. In July, 1681, Lord Baltimore testified[1] that by such influences the people of Stafford were "as ripe and readdy for an other Rebellion as ever they were," that "this Fendall has great influence on and interest in most of the rascalls in the North part of Virginia, where he was for some time when he was forced to absent himself from Maryland." It was the moment when new civil war was expected in England following the dissolution, in March, 1681, of a passionate parliament, the moment of Shaftesbury and Monmouth, of *Absalom and Achitophel,* and Baltimore charged that Fendall, counting on such civil war, was inciting his followers with the promise of a time coming when "there would be no establisht laws in England and so he and his crew might possess themselves here and in Virginia of what Estates they pleased." Baltimore was so disturbed that he even suspected the loyalty of Secretary Spencer because that able gentleman had recently entertained Fendall at Nominy,[2] little realizing that Spencer was to succeed in maintaining order

[1] In a letter from Maryland to the President of the Privy Council, 19 July, 1681, printed (from C. O. papers) in Scharf, *History of Maryland,* i, 285.

[2] See the depositions in *Md. Archives,* xv, 364, ff.

where he himself was to fail. As all the world knows, there was no civil war in England in 1681 and the "rank Baconists" in Virginia had patiently to wait for a more propitious day, as the Whigs did at home. Monmouth's rebellion proved only a flash in the pan.

The appearance of Fendall on the page of Virginia history is significant only as a preface to what happened at the time of the "glorious revolution" against James II, for it indicates that the foundation had been well laid there for a revolutionary change of government. Considering the "Cavalier" constitution of Virginia society as some Virginia historians have painted it, it is perhaps surprising to observe the unanimity of this sentiment and to read some of the Virginia names appended to the assurances of Whig support which were sent to the Prince of Orange.[3] In Maryland, on the other hand, the proprietary government played true to form. Had the event been different Rachel might then have usurped Leah's title of the "Old Dominion." The weight of the younger sister's official influence was put on the side of caution and the proclamation of William and Mary was delayed until malcontents had their opportunity, the proprietary lost his government, and Maryland history boasted a "Protestant Revolution."[4] It is of curious interest that, before this revolution got started, a similar agitation had been set on foot in Stafford which failed to develop heroic proportions not so much for want of intention as because Nicholas Spencer had a firmer grasp on the reins of local government than did the deputy governors of Maryland.

In March, 1688/9,[5] while the people of Virginia and Maryland were still uncertain as to the course of events in England, the Maryland Indians began to swarm across the Potomac,

[3] *Va. Mag.*, vi, 389; xx, 5; *Cal. State Papers*, Am. & W. I.

[4] The best account of this event, written with documents not available to the earlier historians, is Dr. B. C. Steiner's paper in American Historical Association *Report*, 1897, p. 279. The Virginia tumult which precipitated it is noticed from tradition in Burk, *History of Va.*, ii, 305, and *DeBowe's Review*, xxx, 89.

[5] The story is told in detail in the minutes of the Maryland Council, *Md. Archives*, viii, 70 ff.

saying they were going hunting, as was their annual custom, in the Stafford backwoods. As it turned out, this was literally true but at this particular season the good people of Stafford, politically panicky anyway and feeling always, as frontier people do, the dread of the unknown and of the wilderness, regarded the movement with suspicion. In such a state of mind Burr Harrison[6] was fishing on the river off Potomac Creek and got a haul destined to shake Maryland, as well as Stafford, to the foundations. Returning home, he told his news to his neighbours, John West[7] and Ralph Platt and together, threshing over some of Josias Fendall's old straw,† they built up a theory connecting that news with the movement of the Maryland Indians. Accordingly, they went before the Stafford Court and reported, whereupon Harrison was ordered to examine the Indians and report again. He apparently got most of his colouring matter from a Piscataway named Wawostough, who was later denounced by his Emperor as "a runnaway from them and an Idle person."[8] On such

[6] Burr Harrison (1637-1706) was the immigrant ancestor of the family of that name ever since leaders in Prince William, Fauquier and Loudoun. (See *Va. Mag.*, xxiii, 214 ff.) He was the son of Cuthbert Harrison, of St. Margaret's Westminster (Hayden, 512) and came to Stafford before October 25, 1669, when, with William Harrys and Thomas Baxter, he patented 1200 acres on "Asmale Creek that falls into the River Occoquan." It is a curious fact that in this patent (Virginia *Land Book*, vi, 295) as in all the records of his participation in Parson Waugh's disturbance, Burr Harrison's name is spelled Harrys or Harris. It was not until he became a justice of the Stafford court in 1698 that the Virginia records show it correctly. The parish register of St. Margaret's Westminster is, however, conclusive that Burr's father's name was Harrison. It is possible that the "William Herris" who was buried on Neabsco Creek in 1698 "by birth a Britaine, a good soldier, a good husband & kinde neighbour" (*W. & M. Quar.*, iv, 195), was of this family.

[7] For his descendants see *W. & M. Quart.*, x, 65.

† In a letter dated July 25, 1681, to Lord Culpeper, then in England, Nicholas Spencer reported a rumor then current in Stafford and evidently the handiwork of Fendall, that Lord Baltimore had employed the Senecas "to cut off most of the protestants of Maryland." (*Cal. State Papers*, Am. & W. I., 1681-85, p. 93).

[8] *Md. Archives*, viii, 90. Secretary Spencer, in his despatch of April 27, 1689 (*Cal. State Papers*, Am. & W. I., 1689-92, No. 92, p. 32) throws an interesting side light on the situation, in respect to this Indian: "Suspecting the reality of the Indian's information, I ordered him to be secured, not doubting but by re-examination to discover the certainty of the designed forgery, but the notorious persons who set the

testimony, pieced out elsewhere, Harrison made up, in a deposition, a startling record, viz:

"That on Saturday last he met with a boate goeing up the River that came lately from St. Maries and after inquiring what newes in those parts they told him that Coll. Pye was lately heard to say that he did hope before Easter day to wash his hands in the protestant blood and that if he had the prince of orange there he would thrust his sword up to the Beame in him. And they did further informe the said Harris that there were two or three masters of shipp dayly looking out for Coll. Pye to carry him on board shipp in order to transport him for England."

But what followed was more disturbing:

"And further the said Harris declared there yesterday came over from Pomonky with him an Indian called Chicarter, a warr captaine that was going to Capt. Brent, and told him Capt. Brent had sent for him, and further the said Indian told him that they did heare the Englishmen in England had cut off their King's head and that there were abundance of dutchmen comeing in a great many ships and that they should bring abundance of Match Coats and other things with them . . . that the King of Piscattaway hath hired the Seneca Indians by reason that they might have the better opportunity to Kill the people of Virginia telling them that they must make haste and Kill the protestants before the shipping did come in for after the shipping came they will then Kill the papists and then they would Kill all the Indians."

This roorback was at once spread broadcast among the people, not only of Stafford but of Maryland. Across the Potomac it grew with the food it fed on. John Addison of

Indian to work prevented a detection of their villainy by probably destroying him. The party sent to apprehend him weakly entrusted him to West and Harris who offered to bring him in: and he has since been discovered, murdered in the woods, by West, who had best reason to know where to find him. He and others are to answer for their part in the matter."

Maryland wrote to John West that he heard that 9,000 French and Senecas had landed at Capt. Bourne's upon the Cliffs of Anne Arundel and had murdered Bourne and his family, wherefore he invited instant help from Virginia. Another Marylander, John Courts, wrote to Capt. Lawrence Washington that he heard that 10,000 "foreign indians" had inforted at the head of Patuxent. The Maryland authorities kept their heads and took prompt action, which soon allayed the panic north of the Potomac. All that was necessary was to establish and publish the fact that there were no Senecas in Maryland.

But in Stafford there was another story. There the people abandoned their plantations and arrayed themselves in arms. A Maryland officer reported that "the people enfort themselves [not only] in Stafford County but all over that Collony, from the bordering part of which we doe dayly here the beating of drums and volleyes of shott." The Maryland authorities apparently interpreted this activity as preparations for an invasion of their territory. They were even moved to charge that the hope of plunder in Maryland was the real motive for starting the agitation.[9] But no such invasion was contemplated. Stafford had already concentrated on her own affairs. She had caught the infection of a disease then endemic in most of the English colonies in America.[10]

The Brents who had lived in Stafford for many years were Catholics. They had been discreet in their relations with their protestant neighbours, and had never been molested. Indeed, in 1668, the Stafford County Court gave Capt. Giles Brent a certificate[11] that they had had "21 years' experience of his fidelity in not seducing any persons to the Roman Catholic religion." But Burr Harrison's news from Maryland offered an opportunity for fanatical agitation and the incumbent of Overwharton parish[12] took full advantage of it. This Parson

[9] *Md. Archives,* viii, 82.

[10] In *Old Virginia and Her Neighbours,* Fiske has an illuminating note collecting the facts as to anti-catholic agitation in the colonies at this time, and discussing the philosophy of it.

[11] *Va. Mag.,* viii, 329.

[12] It does not appear from any surviving record when the name Overwharton was applied to the parish. The surviving register begins in 1720. In 1680 it was designated "Stafford parish, Chotanck." *Va. Mag.,* i, 243.

John Waugh had already been in trouble with the authorities for his lack of respect for the law.[13] He was apparently a natural agitator, what was called at the time "of enthusiastic principles" and courted popularity. Egged on by his son-in-law, the second George Mason,[14] Waugh's sermons now stirred the community to frenzy. George Brent, of Woodstock, implicated by Burr Harrison's testimony, undoubtedly had relations with Maryland Indians but, so far as the record developed, these relations had nothing whatever to do with politics. But being, like his uncle Giles, a Catholic and so now under a new suspicion, George Brent became on a sudden the target of a passionate popular attack.[15] A sea captain then in the Potomac observed[16] that "the Stafford men were wholly intent to kill, rob and burn what Capt. Brent had."

In this crisis, the resident members of the Virginia Council, Messrs. Spencer, Lee and Allerton, being under no illusion, showed their eminent good sense. Secretary Spencer wrote[17] that "to take off the clamours against Capt. Brent and to justify his innocency, wee ordered his house to be searched for Arms and Amunicon and directed him to take up his being at Coll. Fitzhugh's, where the people might be assured he could not converse with any designing any ill against the inhabitants." But, as it happened, Fitzhugh, Brent's law partner, though protestant, was an out-spoken Tory, and the choice of an asylum was perhaps not happy. Although the search developed that Brent did not have in his house sufficient arms for his own defence, association with him put even Fitzhugh in danger. The latter wrote,[18] soon after, that he had his "house most part of the time constantly thronged and in

[13] Westmoreland records, 1674, in *W. & M. Quar.*, xv, 182, and see *ibid.*, p. 189, for Parson Waugh's descendants.

[14] Rowland, i, 19.

[15] The prejudice thus engendered against George Brent persisted for several years. In December, 1692, he was presented by the grand jury of Stafford as a "popish recusant" and later a motion was made in the county court to compel him to take the test oath as a condition of continuing to practice law. *Cal. Va. State Papers*, i, 46.

[16] *Md. Archives*, viii, 93.

[17] *Ibid.*, 92.

[18] *Fitzhugh Letters, Va. Mag.*, iii, 257.

daily expectation of being plundered by the Rabble, and once of being treachously murdered."

Over these troubled waters Parson Waugh rode the whirlwind. Beginning as a colonial Titus Oates, under the inspiration of his fellow enthusiast, John Coode, the whilom parson of Maryland who was about to lead a successful revolution in that province, Waugh gradually developed into what appeared for a moment to be a menace to the Virginia government. From general thunder against the Catholics, he evolved the more dangerous thesis that there "being no King in England, there was no Government here," and that the people should remain in arms in their own defence.[19] This advice, smacking significantly of the doctrine which Lord Baltimore charged Fendall with preaching in Stafford in 1681, was followed, the alarm spread to the Rappahannock settlements, and serious consequences were averted only by renewed vigorous action on the part of Messrs. Spencer, Allerton and Lee. Assuming the authority of the entire council for the emergency, they anticipated the formal proclamation of the accession of William and Mary,[20] arrested the ring leaders, Waugh, Harrison and West, forbade the parson to preach, and suspended George Mason from the command of the Stafford militia.[21]

Parson Waugh was eventually brought before the General Court at Jamestown and there, as William Fitzhugh records,[22] "made a publick & humble acknowledgment, by a set form drawn up by the Court and ordered to be Recorded, and is appointed to do the same in our County Court . . . with a hearty penitence for his former faults and a promised obedience for the future, which he sincerely prays for the accomplishment of and for the sake of his Coat to do so."

And with this repentance in its leader, the tumult died down as suddenly as it had begun.

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[19] Spencer's despatch, April 29, 1689, *Cal. State Papers*, Am. & W. I., 1689-92, No. 93.

[20] The Virginia Council had, on April 26, 1689, ordered the proclamation to be made on May 23rd, following. See Va. Council Minutes in *Randolph MS., Va. Mag.*, xx, 5.

[21] *Ibid., Va. Mag.*, xx, 3, 10.

[22] *Fitzhugh Letters, Va. Mag.*, iii, 255.

VIRGINIA GLEANINGS IN ENGLAND

Contributed by Reginald M. Glencross, 176 Worplee Road, Wimbledon, London, S. D. 20, England.

(CONTINUED)

THOMAS BOLITHOE of Lanceston, co. Cornwall.

Will dat. 9 June 1654. To my brother William & my sister Mary B. & to my sister in law Mary Nicholls 10/ ring each. Whereas I have at present one daur. Mary & my wife now goeth with one other child, & whereas my lands in Tettridge is conveyed to my wife for jointure, after her death, if such child be a son the same lands will descend to him, but if a daur. sd. lands will go to both my daurs. I have made provision for sd. daur. Mary by surrendering some parcels of Townland to her use. House wherein I now dwell to wife for life if my estate last so long. Rest of goods to my wife Mary B & she to be extrix. *Witns.* Jo. Treise, Phillipp Peare, John Hickes

Proved 27 Oct. 1654 by Mary B. relict & extrix.

Alchin, 448

WILLIAM BOLETHOW gent., of parish of Gwendron (*Wendron*) Cornwall.

Will dat. 18 Nov. 1654. To my wife Elizabeth £120 the 2 chambers over the kitchen etc during my estate therein if she live so long. To my daur. Mary Flamanke £60. To my granddaur. Elizabeth Bolithow £30 at her marriage. To my granddaur. Sarah Kempthorne £5 at 7. To my sister Jane Flamanke the wife of Roger F. £6.6.8. To Mr. Robert Jagoe my pastor 20/. To poor of Gwendron 20/., of Helston 20/.

To my servants William Anthony 10/., John Thomas 10/., Tho. Joseph 5/. Ann Polcribbow 5/. & Blanch Thomas 5/. To Anne Boddy of town of Truro 10/. Rest of goods to my son Alexander B. & he to be exor. *Witns.* Roger Flamanke, Mr. Charll Manly.
Proved 9 June 1655 by Alexander B. son & exor.

Aylett, 284

[John Bolitoe came from Cornwall to Virginia and settled in Princess Anne County. He was a vestryman of Lynhaven Parish, 1725, 1728, &c. He married Yates ———, who subsequently married John Nicholas. There is on record in Princess Anne, a mutilated deed from Thomas Bolithoe, of Cornwall, heir-at-law of John Bolithoe, late of Virginia, dated 173—, conveying certain property to John Nicholas and Yates his wife, in consideration of her dower.]

JOHN FOXALL, late of Hardwicke in p'ish. of Lattingham, co. Stafford, bachelor.

Noncupative. Will made 2 May 1655 oratio recta. For my funeral £10 owing to me from Edward Jordan of Alveley, co. Salop., overplus to poor of p'ish of Worfeild in sd. co. To my sister Margaret Devie all my goods in her possession. To my brother William F. £10 in hands of Richard Wilkes & £3 in hands of Thomas Hatton, bed etc in his custody, & all rest of my estate. Witnesses: Humfry Steward (x), Ursula Foxall (x). Adm. c. t. a. 15 May 1655 to William F. brother & principal legatary, no ex'or. being app'ted.

Aylett, 149

WILLIAM FOXALL, of borough of Stafford.

Will dat. 6 Oct. 1653. To poor of S. £4. To my wife Elizabeth for life, cottage or dwelling house in Birmingham, co. Warw., in tenure of William Fisher & messuage & cottage in Durliston & land there in tenture of one Keelinge, my other house in borough of Stafford, which joins my house where I now dwell, lately in tenture of Mr. John Wilson my brother in law & barn standing in lower end thereof towards the Town

Wall, my 3 barns nigh to Broodeigh in Stafford, moiety of house adjoining St. Chad's Churchyard which is jointly between me & Mr. Walter Adeny. To my son John F. my land in p'ish. of Bushbury, Staffordshire, which was given to me by my father John F., house in Stafford wherein I now dwell, with tanhouse, all in fee & remainder of (much of) devises to sd. wife, also in fee, £100. To my son William F. house & tanhouse in Stafford in fee (which I bought of George Lees now deceased) messe in Darliston afs'd from decease of my s'd. wife, also in fee & £100 also Fisher's cottage. S'd. wife to maintain s'd. 2 sons till 21 if she remain widow. To my dau'rs. Elizabeth, Anne, Bridget, Sara & May F. £200 a piece. If any die under 21 unmar. survivors' clause to my own brothers & sisters children 10s. a piece & household servants 10s. a piece. S'd. wife E. to be ex'trix. My brother Ambrose F. & brother in law John Britton to be overseers & to them 20s. a piece. To my mother 20s. for a ring. Witnesses: Ambrose Foxall, Anthony Dewyste, Ambrose Foxall the younger. Proved 21 Nov. 1655 by Elizabeth F., relict & ex'trix.

Aylett, 432

["Mr. John Foxhall" was living in Westmoreland County, Va., in 1670. There is recorded in that county, a deed, dated 1673, from the wife and attorney of John Foxhall, of Popes Creek, Westmoreland, to her daughter Martha Foxhall. Wife and daughter apparently died before the date of John Foxhall's will. The will of John Foxhall was dated Feb. 10, 1697-8, proved in Westmoreland March 27, 1698, and in P. C. C. (*Ash.* 162) Aug. 31, 1704. He left to Robert Volkes (Vaulx) and Sarah Elliott, all his estate real and personal in the Kingdom of England in Bromingham (Birmingham) in Warwickshire. His water mill to James Volkes and John Elliott, Jr.; his plantation at the head of Popes Creek to Susan Cornock; to Elizabeth Volkes his plantation in Essex; to James Volkes, horse, &c.; to Mary and Martha Elliott, horses.—"Loving Brother Caleb Butler", executor.

The will of Caleb Butler dated Feb. 16, 1708-9 would make it appear that Butler married a sister of Foxhall. It is possible that Mrs. Butler was previously Mrs. Vaulx. The name Foxhall frequently appears as a Christian name in the Parker family, formerly of Westmoreland.]

SIR FRANCES BICKLEY, of Langford, co. Norfolk, Baronet.

Will dat. 23 Sep. 1740. To be buried in church of L. All estate real & personal to my friend Henry Cocksedge of Thet-

ford, Norfolk, gent. in fee in consideration of the favours friendships & services by him done & performed for me. He to be ex'or. Witnesses: Thos. Caton, Abra. Clerke, Jn° Roope. Prob. 8 July 1746 by Henry Cocksedge the ex'or.

Edmunds, 199

[Sir Francis Bickley, 4th Bart., of Attleborough Hall, died, without issue, July 4, 1746. He had several brothers, one of whom, Joseph Bickley, emigrated to Virginia, and eventually, inherited the title. See *Wm. & Mary Quarterly*, vol. V.]

WILLIAM HAMMOND, of Ratcliff in the p'ish of Stebenheath als. Stepney, co. Middx., gent.

Will dated 9 July 1732. My freehold farm in posession of ——— Pritchard at Thundersley, co. Essex, & my 2 copyhold farms now in posson. of [*blank*] King & [*blank*] in p'ish of Eastwood, co. Essex. To my uncle William Clopton of Virginia for life, remainder to his children equally in fee. My 2 freeholds messuages in possession of John Thompson, watchmaker, & Joseph Scrafton, peruke maker, in Clements Lane near Lombard Street, London. To my friends Samuel Skinner of Ratcliff, aforesaid esq. & Josiah Cole of same, apothecary, in fee upon trust for sale. They to pay £500 to my servant Christian Waters now living with me. £500 to Mary Hamond als. Mary Hamond Waters at 21 or marre. if she die before, s'd £500 to her mother the s'd. Christian Waters. Household goods at my now dwelling house on Stepney Causeway to s'd. C. Waters, & to her s'd dwelling house for rest of term, all my plate & jewels. Rest of estate to my s'd. uncle William Clopton & his children. S'd. S. Skinner & J. Cole to be ex'ors. & guardians to sd. M. Hamond als. M. H. Waters. Witnesses: Tho. Taylor, Hannah Norman, Wrudd (or Mudd) Fuller ser.

Prob. 17 July 1732 to Samuel Skinner & Josias Cole ex'ors.

Bedford, 188

[William Clopton (born 1655, died before 1733) emigrated to Virginia and settled in York County, removing later to New Kent. He married

Anne, daughter of Robert Booth of York County and had three sons, Robert, William and Walter, and two daughters, Anne, married Nicholas Mills and Elizabeth, married (1st), in 1713, William Walker, and (2nd), Alexander Moss.

The son William married Jan. 27, 1718-19, Joyce Wilkerson. Among other children they had a son, Waldegrave, whose name probably gives a clue to the English ancestry of the Cloptons.

It is probable that William Hammond was a nephew of the emigrant and did not know of his death.]

FRANCISCUS LUDLOW.

Octavo die [July 1671] emenavit Commissio Willelmo Rickard Avunculo et Curatori legitime Assignato Francisco Ludlow et Willelmo Ludlow Minoribus filiis naturalibus et legitimis Francisci Ludlow nuper de Horneingham in Comitatu Wilts sed in Virginia in partbus Transmarinis defuncti Habentis etc. Administrandum bona Jura et Credita dicti defuncti in usum et durante Minori ætate dictorum minoris (sic) etc.

P. A. B. 1671 fa. 80

[Francis Ludlow, a brother of Sarah Ludlow, wife of Col. John Carter, of Corotoman, had evidently lived in Lancaster County, Va. See this Magazine XXIX, 350-354, and especially p. 352, where, an extract from the Lancaster County records shows that Francis Ludlow's will was proved there May 11, 1670. It is curious that in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury only an administration was granted and no notice taken of the will.]

WILLIAM TABB, of Thurlstone, Devon, yeoman.

Will dat. 10 Jan. 1648. To poor of T. 3s. 4d. To my dau'r. Joan Square 20s. To my son in law Ellis Square, suit. To my dau'r. Amy Scobble 20s. To my dau'r. Mary Nealde 20s. etc. To my wife Alice all my wool. To William T. & Alice T. children of my son John T., Andrew Square & Thomas Square sons of Ellis S. my son in law & to Agnes Scobble dau'r. of my dau'r. Agnes (sic) S., my grandchildren a ewe & lamb each. To each of my godchildren 12d. Whereas I have an estate in tenement & farthing of land in Buckland in p'ish of T. afs'd for years determinable on death of me & my

Alice & my son John T. I give same to my wife Alice for life 40 years if she so long live, but my son John T. to hold same during life of my sd. wife at £10 rent. Sd. wife to have householarbour with my son John for her life. To John Marten pair of breeches. To John Bridgman, pair of breeches. Rest of goods to my son John T. & he to be ex'or. Witnesses: Tho. Cornish, Thomas Square X.
Adm. c. b. a. 12 [*blank*] 1654 to Rebecca Tabb, relict & ex'trix of John T., whilst he lived, son & ex'or of W. T. late of T. Because that J. T. the son & ex'or. also died before he had taken upon him execution of same Will.

Alchin, 36

JOHN TABB, of Thurlestone, co. Devon, yeoman.

Will dat. 25 Dec. 1653. To poor of p'ish of T. 3s. 4d. To my son William T. & my two dau'rs. Alice T. & Prudence T. £30 each at 21. Whereas I have an estate in one tenement & one farthing of lands in Buckland in p'ish of Thurlstone afsd. determinable on deaths of me & my mother Alice T. out of which I am to pay to sd. mother £10 a year for life, by will of my father William T. dec., I give same to my wife Rebecca, she paying the sd. £10 yearly. Sd. Mother to have house harbour with my wife for life. Estate in two houses & close of land (4 acres) at Coton in p'ish of Sherford for years determinable upon Anne? Amy Nicholls for payment of £25 to Agnes Scobble da'ur. of sd. A. Nicholls, to my brother in law Ellis Square on trust for sd. A. Scobble. Rest of goods to sd. wife R. & she to be ex'trix. My uncle John Randoll to be overseer. *Testator made his mark.* Witnesses: Tho. Cornish, John Randoll, John Lakeman X, Thomas Squeare X.
Prob. 22 June 1654 by Rebecca T., relict & ex'trix.

Alchin, 36

[Humphrey Tabb, the ancestor of the Virginia family, came to Virginia in or before 1637 and settled in Elizabeth City County. Vol. I, Dwelly's *Parish Records*, shows that in the register of Firehead, Somersetshire, is an entry of the christening, Sept. 17, 1609, of Humphrey, son of John Tabb.]

FRANCIS SYDNOR, of Grays Inn, Middx., esq.

Will dat. —— —— 1653. Having long languished in body by reason of old age & infirmities. To poor of p'ish of St. Andrew Holborn 40s. To my kinsman Fortunatus Sydnor of Greenwich, Kent, aged about 15 years, £40 at 21, if he die before, same to my neice Judith Goldsmith of Purpoole Lane. St. Andr. Holborn afsd. & to Charles & Mathias Goldsmith, sons of my nephew Charles G. physician, equally whereas I lent to my nephew Henry Sydnor of Norwich, grocer, £20 by Bond, I release him of same & to him £10 more. To sd. Charles Gouldsmith & Mathias G. sons of my sd. nephew C. G. £60 between them, at 21. To sd. nephew C. G. the physician, my watch, same to be delivered to my sd. neice Judith G. to be kept for my sd. nephew until his return into England. Whereas Humphrey Wigan of Grays Inn Lane, St. Andr. Holborn, Middx. Chandler is bound to sd. neice Judith G. in £100 bond to pay £51. 10 s. to her at a day yet to come, which £50 (sic) was my property & £1. 10. in consideration of forbearance, sd. bond being in my custody, same to be delivered to sd. neice. Rest of personal estate to my sd. neice Judith Goldsmith. Sd. H. Wigan to be ex'or. & to him £10.
Prob. 19 June 1656 by Humphrey Wigan the ex'or.

Berkley, 215

[A Fortunatus Sydnor lived in Lancaster County, Va., 1670, &c. There is in existance an old Bible containing many entries of the children of this Fortunatus Sydnor and their descendants. Dr. Lyon G. Tyler proposes to publish this record, with additional information, in his *Quarterly*. The Sydnors were long associated with Kent. Paul Sydnour, of Brenchley, gent., contributed to a loan to the King in 1542. This Paul Sydnor in 31st year of Henry VIII was granted the advowson and vicarage of Brenchley. His son William Sydnor succeeded him about 1563 and shortly afterwards alienated them to William Waller. On April 13, 1573, "Mr. William Sydnor, of Blundeston in Suffolk, Esq.", sold the manor of Cryels in Brenchley to William Lambarde.]

MINUTES OF THE COUNCIL AND GENERAL COURT, 1622-1629

From the Originals in the Library of Congress.

(Continued)

A Court at James Citty the 9th April 1628,

Present

Capt ffrancis West Esqr Gouernor &c
Doctor Pott
Capt Smyth
Mr Claybourne.

Whereas by an Order of this Court the 31th March 1628, it was ordered that Capt Preen[1] should deliver unto Mr Edward Bennet, two men servants wth one suite of apparell covenient for each of them or 600 l. of Tobacco being for two Servants wch the said Capt Preen should have brought over in the Hopewell fower yeares since, & further to pay two hundred weight of Tobacco more for damadge that ye said Mr Bennet hath sustained by ye want of those men, Now ye said Capt Preen appearing at the Court personally, & answering unto the complaints of ye said Edw: Bennet, alledged that he was noe way tyed to deliver the men here though he receaved the mony of their passadge because there might fall out many casualtyes to cutt of their landing in Virginia, wch he could not be thought guilty of nor answerable for, And as concerning ye putting one of them on shoare in ye Downes, the said Capt Preen sayth that he can sufficiently prove, both [by] the oath of ye Chirurgion Richard Wake & others, that the said man named Rich: Coxe was diseased and unfitt to goe to sea wthout great danger of his life; And for the other man

[1] This was John Prin or Pring, owner and master of the *Great Hopewell*, 120 tons.

left behind at Plymouth named Robert Waldron, he sayth & hath now affirmed uppon his oath at this time taken, that ye said Robert Waldron (appearing to be a gentleman like man & marchant) Mr. Bennet intreating that he should be kindly used did never give any order, to his knowledge, that he should be restrained from goeing ashoare. Whereuppon ye Court hath thought fitt & ordered, that, notw^th^standing ye former order, the said Capt Preen shall put in good securitye that there shalbe two men servants, wth one suite of apparell for each of them shipped aboard some shipp bound for this Country before the feast of St Thomas ye Apostle next comeing, to serve ye said Mr Bennet for ye terme of five yeares, the said Capt Preen paying for their passages: And for ye damadge & losse happening in this manner unto ye said Mr Bennet, it is further ordered that the said Capt Preen shall presently pay unto ye said Mr Bennet two hundred waight of Tobacco. And this shalbe a discharge for ye said Capt Preen from ye former Order & ye Warrant made thereuppon.

At this Court Capt Preen signifyed that he had delivered unto Sapt Smyth all ye goods of John Moseley deceased, except two servants wch were left in ye West Indies (for wch Capt Jreen standeth accomptable) & thereuppon desired accordingly to be discharged of ye bills of lading wch the Court graunted.

A Court at James Citty the 21th Aprill [1628]

Capt ffrancis West Esqr Gouerno^r^
Docto^r^ Pott
Capt Smyth
Mr Claybourne Secr.

Whereas Hugh Crowder late Planter o[n] the other side of ye water died intestate, the Court haveing vewed an inventory of his Estate, hath graunted the administration of ye same unto Rice Watkins & order that hee doe give in security for ye same.

It is ordered that Cajt Tucker & Mr Graine[2] shalbe here on Monday come senight to answere unto the controv[ersy] & complaints betwixt them.

A Court at James Citty the 24th Aprill *1628*

Capt ffranis West Esqr Gouernor &c.
Capt Smyth
Capt Mathewes
Mr Claybourne.

At this time we receaved from some English men at Pamunky a writing on a peece of barke, sent by 4 Indians at Pasbehaye The opinion of ye board was that we should indeavor as much as could be to procure ye ffreedome of those English that are amongst them & to lerne in what places they plant their corne, & to make them somewhat secure of us, that we may live ye quietlier & have the better oportunity to be revenged on them for their treachery, but not to make any peace or dishonorable treaty wth them, & to give order that none of them should come to our Plantations.

A Court at James Citty the 25th [Aprill 1628]

present

Capt ffrancis West Esqr Gouer[nor &c]
Doctor Pott.
Capt Smyth.
Mr Claybourne.

John Wayne, Seriant [sergeant] of Elizabeth Citty sworne

[2] This militant churchman was evidently minister of the church at Kicoughtan (Hampton). No other record of him has been noted. It is probable that the copyist misread the faded original and that the name is really Graeme. If, as seems probable, this minister was a Rowland Graeme from the Detabatable Land on the borders of England and Scotland, his slight regard for the officials and their warrants is easily explained. He had been born and bred in a country where the King's writs were little respected and where the chief law was the good old rule that he shall take who has the power and he keep who can.

& examined sayth that about a [fortnight] since being required by Capt Tucker to goe to [Mr] Rowland Graine Minister & to demaunde the mast & sailes for his boate because that he [had] occasion to use her, otherwise to desire him to ——— over to him & to make it appeare how ye boa[te] did belong unto him & ye controversy should ——— ended, then the said Mr. Graine answered that [mast] & sayle he should have none, if Capt Tucke[r] have any thing to say to me let him come [here] for I owe him not soe much service as to goe to [him] ffurther this deponant sayth, there being ——— sent down to ye Masters of ye shipps, Capt T[ucker] bid this deponant in ye morning, take his [boate] at his landing place & goe to ye shipps, but [ye] same night ye boate was taken away ——— at Mr Graines landing place: Where [uppon] this deponant goeing thither for her, [asked Mr] Graine for ye boate in Capt Tuckers name [saying] my Captaine hath need for ye boate & I [will] have her, then Mr Graine answered [I have] noe boate of ye Captaines & none [he shall have]. Then this deponant sayd I have occa[sion for] the boate for the kings service & I must have her, then Mr Granie said let me see your authoritie & you shall have it; then this deponant shewed the aforesaid warrants for the Masters of the shipps, & Mr Graine reade them & said this is but a flime flome & an excuse, for the Masters have notice of it allready, I am going to Administer the Com'union & God must be served before ye King & soe went into his house so afterwards this deponant com'aunded the men that were wth him to take ye boate for he would have it, wch words Mrs Graine overhearing called to her husband & sayd sweetharte ye Seriant sayth he will put ye men aboard & carry away ye Boate: Whereuppon Mr Graine presently came running out of his house in a fury & called for his peece, wch his boy brought him out presently, & swore I will shoote you if any man stirr out of ye path: then this deponant sayd Mr. Graine I am sorry you should runn into these errors, & Mr. Graine answered be sorry for your selfe, if Capt Tucker come himselfe I will do no lesse, Moreover this deponant on Monday last receiveing a

warrant to attach ye boate, went unto ye boate which then lay at Mr. Graines dore & sayd unto Mr. Graine I am comen about ye boate againe, here is a warrant to attach it, then Mr. Graine said shew it me & haveing read it sayd, you shall have noe boate here, my boate shall not goe of my ground, if ye Governo^r^ send twenty war[rants]

Mr Utie likewise desired to ——— Capt John Jefferson[a] who was ——— in the West Indyes, and all ——— the same being for his p^r^sonal ——— because hee the said John Jefferson ——— accomplished the full terme of three years w^th^in this Country, according as is required further the said Mr Uty offereth that if the said John Jefferson shall retorne, eyther to take upp the land in another place or else to make satisfaccon to the said Mr Utie for his building and Cleering if he desire to putt him off, or otherwise the said Mr Utie to pay him for the land and purchase the patent, wch Condicons one way or other the Co^rt^ thinke to bee reasonable that soe principall a place may not remaine allwaies unplanted.

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[a] This reference to Capt. John Jefferson being in the West Indies makes it very probable that he was the same man as Capt. John Jeaffreson, who with Captain (afterwards Sir Thomas) Warner and Ralph Merrifield, a London merchant, began the colonizing of St. Christophers in 1623. There is a notice of this man in John Cordy Jeaffreson's *A Young Squire of the Seventeenth Century*, a book this writer has not seen. Oliver's *History of Antigua*, states that Captain John Jeaffreson, of Suffolk, came to that island in the *Hopewell* in March 1624. Oliver also states that Capt. John Jeaffreson, was son of John Jeaffreson, of Pittistree, Suffolk, yoeman, and that about 1656, Capt. Jeaffreson purchased the manor of Dillingham, Cambridgeshire. His will was dated Sept. 4 and proved Oct. 1660. He had brothers from one of whom the President may have descended. Capt. Jeaffreson's arms were *Azure, a fret Arg, on a chief of the last three leopard's heads gules.* Crest: *A talbot's head erased Arg. gules.* Motto: *Vivat post funera Virtus.*

In 1626 John Jefferson owned 250 acres, by patent, at Archers Hope. This was probably the land referred to above. This John Jefferson, a merchant of London, lived for some years in Virginia. In 1623 he was appointed by the King one of the Commissioners to induce the Virginia Assembly to declare in favor of a dissolution of the Company. Stith says that Jefferson took no part in the actions of the Commissioners as he was a hearty friend of the Company. On June 19, 1622, Jefferson was in London and testified before the Company against Capt. John Harvey.

There was another John Jefferson, a blacksmith, living in Virginia in 1626 &c.

At this Co[rt] an administracon was graunted unto John Hill and Robert Brittaine on the estate of Nicholas Thredder.

An adm'stra'con was graunted unto John ——— on the estate of William Morton.

At this Court was leave given to a sufficient Company to plant uppon the back Ryver at Kecoughtan.

Uppon the suit of M[r] ffrancis Bolton, Minister [at] James Citty it is ordered that hee shall have l[eave] to make a lease of the Gleabe land neere u[nto] Archers Hope.

[At A] Co[rt] at James Citty 17th .....

present

Capt: ffrancis West [Gouerno[r] &c.]
D[r] Pott
Capt. Smyth.
M[r] Secretary
C: Tucker.
M[r] ffarrar.

At this Court Mr Waters delyvered the Inventory of Capt: John Willcocks estate.

At this Co[rt] Capt William Tucker made over unto Ensigne Thomas Willoby of Elizabeth Citty and to his heires and assignes for ever fifty acres of land due unto him the said Captaine William Tucker for the transportac'on of . . . Shore who came in the . . . 1621.

The estate of Humfry Rastall deceased was taken into considera'con and letters from Mr. Thomas Rastall of London beeing read it appeared that his desire was to have his tobacco collected upp and sent home by the First. It was thought fitt that Lancelot Barnes and Mr Holland should bee imployed . . . all the tobaccoe and to give in account thereof into the Co[rt] and soe from tyme to tyme to take order in the business as shall bee thought requisite.

Mr Bennetts peti'con was reade being against Capt John Prin for 200[li] of Tobacco w[ch] hee was to have paid him by

order of Co^{rt} the last yt . . . the 9th of Aprill 1626(?) The wch nevertheles the said Captaine Prin neglected and refused to pay contrary to his word and promise given to the Governo^{r} and some of the Councell: Wherefore it is ordered that there shall be 300^{li} of Tobacco paid out of the said Capt: Prins estate for the said 200^{li} and the Damage and losse for long . . . And the Court doth . . . more severely . . . to take notice of Capt Prins contempt

Richard Bennett p^{r}ferred a peti[tion] . . . ofAdm'stracon on the estate . . . of Warrosquoiacke Marchant de[ceased] . . . Cheifely indebted unto Mr Edward . . . himselfe wch was accordingly graunted.

At the same tyme alsoe hee delyvered upp [an] Inventory of the said John ffrancis his estate uppon his oath.

It is Ordered that the Shalopp wch Edmond Barker sould unto Mr Rastalls men shall bee retorned unto Mr Perry, and that the said Edmond doe paie for the mending of the said Shalloppe fifty pounds of tobacco.

At this Co^{rt} was brought in the will of John Perry deceased, and proved by the oath of Wm Perry gent and that hee was in good sence and understanding at the making hereof.

Uppon considera'cion therein had a Comission of adm'stra-'con was graunted unto Thomas Mayhew, Marchant, uppon the estate of Mr Daniell Lacy.

Mr Kingsmill p^{r}ferred his petic'on to have two men redelyvered unto him wch hee sould to Mr Lacy in his life tyme: It is ordered thereuppon that hee shall bee paid 500^{li} of tobaccoe by the adm'strato^{r} of the said Mr Lacy, at or before the feast of Christmas for the said men according to an agreem^{t} made by the said Mr Lacy and Mr Kingsmill.

Uppon the peti'con of Wm Besse, it is ordered [that] there shall bee a warrant directed to Mrs. Edloe and her husband to appeare at James Citty and answere the suit of the substitute of the said Besse on Monday three weekes or else give him p^{r}sent satisfaccon.

Uppon the motion of Cap: Wm Tucker overseer of the will of Leif^{t} Albiano Lupo deceased It is ordered that Mr Secre-

tary shall writ a l're to Mr Granie [to] require him to put in security for the goods of the sa[id] Albiano Lupo.

[At] A Court At James Citty the 18th daie of .....

p[r]sent

Cap: ffrancis West [ouerno[r] &c]
Doctor: Pott.
Capt: Smyth
M[r] Secretary
Capt: Tucker
M[r] ffarrar.

It was the opinion of the Court to proceede on the same Course concerning the Indians w[ch] hath hitherto beene held untill wee shall find better oportunity to sett uppon them.

It is ordered that Mr Capps on the first of Aprill next at the farthest, doe goe over to the other side of the Bay and seeke out fit places for to experim[t] the making of salte by the sonn: And that if hee doe neglecte that busines hee bee Constrayned thereunto by warrants.

At this Court Tho: Marlott planter, sworne and exa'ied sayth that William Enry about the latter end of May last past being sick but of good memory desired this depo[t] that hee would make his will—but this depo[t] answered hee could not well doe such a thing, Then the said W[m] Enry said I pray take notice that my will is, that W[m] Bedford shall have all my goods howses Lands debts and whatsoever is belonging unto me in Virginia paying my debts.

Hereuppon the Court graunted a Comission of adm'str unto the said W[m] Bedford on the said W[m] Enry his estate.

It is ordered That forasmuch as Thomas Gregory deceased was indebted to Mr Buldham one hundred pounds of tobaccoe in the behalfe of his M[r] Capt W[m] Saker, And for that it appeared that Capt W[m] Tucker was authorized to receave it of the said Mr Gregory, that the said 100[li] of tobaccoe bee paid to the said Cap: W[m] Tucker out of the estate of Cap: W[m] Saker, w[th]in this Country.

Uppon the humble suit of William Johnson the good Shipp called the Anne ffor ——— ordered that the said William should ——— the estate of Humfrey Rasdell who was ——— the said Shipp the some of fower hundred and fifty pounds of tobaccoe for that it appeared to the Court that there was soe much due unto him for his wages having beene seven monethes and a halfe Voyage in the said shipp, And Lancellot Barnes is required to paie the said four hundred and fifty ll tobacco to the said Capt William Johnson.

At this Court Rob'te Barrington was made Clarke of the Councell of State and an oath uppon the holy Evangelist adm'stred unto him to that purpose ut sequitr.

Youe shall sweare to keepe secrett all matters Com'itted and revealed unto youe, or treated of secretly at the Councell table, untill by the Consent of the Governor and Councell or themaior part of them publication shall bee made thereof, and youe shall truly and faithfully to the best of yor power from tyme to tyme Record all acts and orders of Cort and such other matters as are to bee ingrossed and recorded, and youe shall not delyver any writinges concerning the affaires of the Governor and Councell to any other prson or prsons whatsoever eyther to bee sweene or Coppied out wthout first making the Governor acquainted therewth and order from him obtained and generally youe shall doe all things as shall [be] belonging unto the place of Clarke of the [Councell] soe long as youe shall soe continew to bee [Clarke] youe goe and by the Contents of this booke.

A Court at James Citty ——— daie of October Ao Dmi 1628

C: ffrancis West Esqr [Gouernor &c.]
Doctor: Pott.
Capt: Smyth.
Mr Secretary.
Cap: Tucker.

It is ordered that Captaine William Tucker shall satisfie and paie unto George Downes, Marchant seven hundred twenty

and one pounds of tobaccoe for the debt of John Morris, And the said Capt: Tucker to recover soe much Tobacco out of the hands of the Attorny of the said Morriss as shall satisfie and dischardge the same.

It was testified At this Court by William Holland that hee thinketh that there was cast overboard of the tobaccoe was shipped by Mr Humfrey Rastdell aboord the Anne Fortune for Newfoundland and 200^{li} and hee verily thinketh that the rest that wants to ballance the Acc^{o} was Lost in the weight.

William Webster delyvered upp his Acc^{o} of Voyage to New Found Land hee being ffactor for the same in the Anne ffortune, And the Co^{rt} having seene the Coven'nts betweene Mr Rasdell and him, And finding hee hath p^{r}formed all things on his part to bee p^{r}formed, doth think fitt that hee bee dischardged from the same.

It is ordered that three thousand and fower score pounds of tobaccoe due unto Will'm Webster by Mr Humfrey Rasdell deceased as appeareth by severall speciallties bee p^{d} unto the said Will'm Webster out of the said Humfrey Rasdell his estate.

A Court at James Citty ——— 1628 present
Ca: ffrancis West Esqr Gouerno^{r} &c.
Doctor: Pott.
Capt: Smyth.
Mr Secretary
Capt: Tucker.

John Day sworne and exa'ied sayth That hee heard Rich-Tree did worke uppon the Church at Hogg Iland[4] a weeke or fortnight as he verylie thinketh after Mr Uty came home from the generall assembly.

Andrew Roe sworne and exa'ied sayth that about the beginning of August last hee saw certaine severall parcells of dub'd

[4] None of the historians of the Colonial Church mention this church at Hog Island. Its situation probably made it inconvenient when the population of the present Surry County increased and it was, before many years, abandoned.

board Ly at the Church at Hogg Iland and that since that time hee hath seene the said Tree and his servants fetch boards from thence.

ffor as much as it appeares to the Co^{rt} that Rich: Tree hath neglected the building of the Church at Hog Iland contrary to his Coven'nt whereby hee should forfeit one thousand pounds of tobaccoe; It is ordered that the said Tree shall before the 20th of December next finish the said Church And the inhabitants to bring the tymber necessary for the finishing the work to the place where the Church is to be built, by the last of this p^{r}sent October, And shall find him nayles sufficient for the said work, And if the said Tree shall neglect to finishe the same according to this order hee shall forfeit the some of 1000^{li} of tobaccoe And this worke to bee done by the said Tree wthout any consideracon to bee paid him therefore in reguard of his neglect.

Uppon peti'con of Hugh Hall it is ordered that he shall have certificate of his freedome graunted unto him soe as hee bring in security to this Co^{rt} to save them harmelesse.

(To be continued)

VIRGINIA STATE TROOPS IN THE REVOLUTION.

(Continued)

	Ditto paid Ditto for Provisions & Rugs to said Company.....	25	16	"
	Ditto paid Ditto as Quarter Master for the Minute Men.....	5	7	6
	Ditto paid Charles Harrison for Tent furnish'd the Army.....	2	15	"
	Ditto paid Roger Oats for Waggonage of Lead from Fincastle.	24	"	"
	Ditto paid Fred[k] Bryan for Ferriage of Diff[t] Company Regulars	2	11	3
	Ditto paid R. C. Anderson for 2 Guns Purchased for his Company	3	"	"
	Ditto paid Ditto for Blanketts & Shirts a Gun Etc. to his Company	28	12	6
19	Ditto paid William Ramsay for Waggonage to Troops at Williamsburg	40	"	"
	Ditto paid Ditto for George Allen for Ditto	46	"	"
	Ditto paid Thomas Ruffin for Sundries to the Prince George Company of Regulars.....	85	12	"
	Ditto paid Captain P. Beall for balance say for Matre Maden for Waggonage	12	19	9

		Ditto paid John Quarles for Provisions & Necessaries furnish'd Captain Richardson's Company	58	4	"
		Ditto paid Holt Richardson for Guns & Blankets furnish'd his Company	70	4	10
		Ditto paid Ditto for Forage & Rations to himself and Officers...	30	3	9
		Ditto paid Ditto for Benjamin Spiller for Public Services....	1	17	6
		Ditto paid George Stubblefield balance of Account for Sundries to his Company	8	3	8
1776		Ditto paid Richard Clansel for a Gun to Captain Faulkner's Company	3	"	"
March	19	To cash paid Blouet Pasture for Maintenance of Jacob Elligood a Prisoner	10	18	"
		Ditto paid Thomas Stubbs for Dietting a guard at Walter Hatton	2	6	"
	20	Ditto paid George Slaughter for pay of his Company to the 19th inst.	100	13	"
		Ditto paid Ditto for Arms Purchased for his Company	24	"	"
		Ditto paid Richard Bland for 28[l] Salt Petre furnish'd the Public	4	"	"
		Ditto paid Ditto for Expense Hire on Public Account	1	4	"
		Ditto paid Ditto for Cash advanced 2 Diserten from Roebuck	1	"	"
		Ditto paid John Aspray for Express Hire	10	2	3

	Ditto paid William Inge for Forage furnish'd the York Troops.	1	10	"
	Ditto paid Leven Powell for Sundries furnish'd the Hampton Troops	97	"	11
	Ditto paid Simon Triplett for Fred[k] O'neal for Waggonage..	17	8	9
	Ditto paid Ditto for Necessaries to his Company on their March to Loudon	14	12	6
	Ditto paid Ditto for Balance of his Account for Expenses to his Company Minute Men from Prince William District.....	30	8	1
21	Ditto paid Levin Powell for Ro Combs for Waggon Hire.....	10	4	9
	Ditto paid Ro. Anderson for Alexander S. Dandridge for his Rations as an Aid De Camp.....	11	1	3
	Ditto paid Charles Scott for Guns and Sundry contingent charges.	27	7	1½
	Ditto paid Thomas Mason as Waggon Master at Williamsburg...	26	16	"
	Ditto paid William Finnie for Thomas Cole for Waggon Hire	7	14	"
	Ditto paid Ditto for William Smith his Wages as Waggoner.....	2	4	4
	Ditto paid Ditto for William Hector .....Ditto	2	5	"
	Ditto paid Ditto for F. Cunningham .....Ditto	2	2	"
	Ditto paid Ditto for William Davis .....Ditto	2	12	"
	Ditto paid Ditto for William Bland for Waggon hire.....	5	2	"
	Ditto paid George Stubbefield for a Tent, Provisions & Pay of one Soldier	11	16	10

	Ditto paid Alexander Rose for Necessaries Men at Fort Pitt..	55	10	"
	Ditto paid John Calvert for a Gun & Drum to Capt[a] Ballard's Company	7	"	"
22	Ditto paid Mann Page for Salt Petre & Fire Wood to the Army	19	"	6
	Ditto paid Theo. Bland for Hire of his Waggon & for Several Horses lost in the service at Hampton	174	14	6
	Ditto paid Ditto for Richard Call			
1776	pay of a Guard at City Point..	15	15	3
March 22	To Cash paid Theo. Bland for Richard Eppes for a Guard at City Point	15	17	3
	Ditto paid Ditto for Alex[r] Guthrie for Boat hire to Ditto.....	2	8	"
	Ditto paid Ditto for Sundry Person for Expenses attending Ditto	4	11	"
	Ditto paid Thomas Winston for a Gun furnish'd Capt. Anderson's Company	3	10	"
	Ditto paid Cuth. Harrison for sundries furnish'd his Company....	24	9	10¾
	Ditto paid Francis Peyton for Thomas Lewis for Waggon Hire to the Public	30	"	"
	Ditto paid Ditto for George Allen .....Ditto	6	5	"
	Ditto paid Ditto for John Ramsey .....Ditto	6	5	"
	Ditto paid Ditto for Fred[k] Oneal, Ditto	1	5	"
	Ditto paid Ditto for Samuel Lowe, Ditto	30	10	10½

(To be continued)

NOTES AND QUERIES

VIRGINIANS AT ST. BEES.

William Jackson, F. S. A., the accomplished and kindly antiquarian of Cumberland, had the good fortune to leave a wife who assembled and published his scattered contributions, of which one of the most interesting is *Archbishop Grindal and his Grammar School of St. Bees.* Whitehaven, which is very near St. Bees, was for a good many years very active in the Virginia trade, and it has been supposed that the emigrant Washingtons were in some way connected with Whitehaven. Certainly John Paul Jones was identified with Whitehaven. William Jackson in his history of St. Bees school (founded 1587) lists "Scholars at St. Bees from 1686 who went away to some university or other in England, Scotland, or Ireland." The list is of the eighteenth century, year not given: "No. 82. Kenner, b. at Cherry Point in Virginia; went to Glasgow [university]; now a minister in Virginia.

No. 83. Robertson, b. in Cleaton [Cumberland]; went to Glasgow in Scotland; a minister in Virginia." There is also this note at p. 210: "1719. Jan. 9—Thomas, son of Captain Philip Lee of Maryland, a scholar, buried."

[See *Publications, Cumberland and Westmoreland Hist. and Archaelogical Society.*]

Ludwell Lee, son of Richard Henry Lee, was placed at St. Bees school about 1775, and possibly his older brother Thomas was there as well. Ludwell Lee, it is said, showed himself to be a good American at St. Bees at that troublous time.

[See *Lee of Virginia,* p. 322.]

The list of St. Bee's scholars was compiled during the 18th century. Robertson may have been the Bristol Parish minister.

A. J. Morrison.

EPITAPH OF MRS. WILLIAM B. GILES.

While in Fincastle some weeks ago I visited the Presbyterian Cemetery one evening and among the tombs saw a slab with the following inscription:

UNDER THIS STONE
REMOTE FROM ALL WHO KNEW AND LOVED HER
LIES THE BODY OF
MARTHA PEYTON GILES
LATE WIFE OF WILLIAM B. GILES
A SENATOR IN THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.
SHE WAS BORN OCTOBER 1777, AND DIED JULY 1808.

In the midst of every earthly blessing
Beloved by Rich and Poor
She Died!!!
Her mind adorned with every virtue;
Her person in the full Bloom of beauty;
The Darling of a Fond Mother;
The Pride of affectionate relations;
The Delight of adoring Friends—
She Died!!!
She left behind her a husband who adored her
and Three lovely children
Reader!!
Mourn for them and for their disconslate Father:
Mourn!!!
For Virtue and Beauty both Lie Buried here!!
Lost to this World forever!!!!!

William B. Giles and Martha Peyton Tabb were married in Amelia County, Virginia. Date of marriage bond 6 March, 1797.

AUGUSTA B. FOTHERGILL.

THE MASSANUTTEN MOUNTAINS.

In the January 1921 number of this Magazine, a map of Louis Michelle appears, with his explanatory key thereof. In the key Michelle calls this range "the Mountains of Cenuntua". In 1712 the Baron De Graffenreid visited the Indian village of Cenavest, which was situated in the valley of the Monocacy River in the present Frederick County, Maryland. De Graffenreid gives an account of this village in his autobiography, and states that Michell had discovered silver mines in the "mountain Senantoa", which is clearly a version of Cenuntua; and both are variants of Shenandoah. De Graffenreid also states that from the top of Sugar Loaf Mountain, he saw three ranges of mountains, with a fine valley between them. These mountains were the Blue Ridge, the Massanutten Range, and the North Mountains, the latter being the Eastern range of the Alleghanies. The valley, of course, was

the Valley of Virginia. He also states that Martin Chartier, the French glover, had accompanied Michell on his visit to the Shenandoah Valley in 1706. See *Von Graffenreid's Account of the Founding of New Bern, N. C.* (1920), page 380, published by the North Carolina Historical Commission.

The tradition has lingered from Michelle's day to this that the Massanutten range contains undiscovered mines of silver. Kercheval states in his *History of the Valley* that shortly after the first settlements were made, an Englishman whose name was Powell, made silver money in the Massanutten range, in the present County of Shenandoah, and he was supposed to be a counterfeiter. Governor Gilmer states in his work, *The Georgians,* that early in the 19th century, he saw on a visit to his uncle at Lethe, on the Shenandoah River, extensive workings on the Peaked Mountain, made by the German inhabitants who lived near its base, and who were seeking silver mines supposed to exist there. The writer was born and reared within two and a half miles of the base of the Peaked Mountain, and frequently heard in his youth, from the old inhabitants of that locality, that silver mines existed there, and that they had been visited by the Indians after the coming of the whites.

Mr. Charles W. S. Turner, deceased, a native of Staunton, and later a resident of Washington, D. C., who was an amateur geologist, prospected the Peaked Mountain, and discovered ore which was pronounced by a competent chemist to be silver, but the owner of the land would not sell, and the matter was dropped. These traditions are related simply to show that many others besides Louis Michelle have held the belief that mines of silver are to be found in the Massanutten range.

CHARLES E. KEMPER.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON (1666-1737), EARL OF ORKNEY, WAS GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA 1710-1737.

Nicholson, in his despatch 6 March 1705 (Cal. State Papers Am. & W. I., 1704-05, No. 930, p. 432), records the rumors then current in Virginia that the Earl of Orkney had been appointed governor but the record does not bear this out. Burk (ii. 329, 330), says that when Nott came over in 1705 by some arrangement between the parties a part of the salary was to be paid to Orkney. Campbell says (p. 375) that both Nott and Hunter were deputies under Orkney. If there was any such agreement as Burk mentions it does not appear in the record. Both Nott and Hunter were commissioned (C. O. 5, 1361 and 1362) as (H. M.) *Lieutenant and Governor General of Virginia.*

When Orkney was commissioned (11 January, 1709/10) it was by the same title. *Hare MS.* 2264, p. 110. See also Andrew's *Guide,* 1274.

Spotswood was the first deputy under Orkney, and was followed as such by Drysdale and Gooch.

Spotswood's *Letters* show Orkney active in London an Virginia affairs.

BEVERLEY ROBINSON.

(From New York Marriages)

Beverly Robinson, Jr., 19 Jany. 1778, and Ann Dorothy Barclay.—M. B. XXV—9.

MRS. LJUNGSTEDT.

A CLUE TO THE LEE ANCESTRY.

I owe you an apology for being so slow in replying to your letter of February 6, concerning the Lee family. It is true that I have made some investigation into the history of the Lee family in London, as ancestors of mine bearing that surname were resident in London in the 17th century. But I cannot pretend to any special knowledge of the various branches of that widely-diffused faimly.

I opine that Mr. J. H. Lea has delved pretty deeply in this quarry and it is hardly to be expected that I can illumine what he has left obscure. I must confess, however, that on receipt of your letter, I was vain enough to think that I might be able to obtain some evidence in support of the theory of the descent of Richard Lee the immigrant from John Lee of Coton, Salop (as indicated in the Virginia Magazine for Jan. 1899, a copy of which you have so obligingly sent me) and the delay in replying to your letter has in part been due to my having spent a little time in search for such evidence.

Among the Chancery Proceedings, 1621-23, preserved at the Record Office in London are (bundle 364, No. 27) same relating to a suit between Richard Lee and Anne his wife against Thomas Porter and Alice his wife, concerning a messuage at Moncks Foregate, Shrewsbury. I hoped that this would prove a "find" but, as far as I can judge, it is irrelevant. Anne Lee and Alice Porter were two of the six daughters of one Richard Owen, whose will was proved circa 1605. The other four daughters were Lucie, married Richard Lee, baker, and had a son John; Elenor, wife of Thomas Hall of Warwick; Katherine, wife of John Collins, and Beatrice, wife of Thomas Crowder.

Richard Lee, the plaintiff, is described as "of Warwick." It seems that two of Richard Owen's daughters had married a Richard Lee.

I have not been able to see Doctor Edmund J. Lee's book. Apparently the British Museum does not boast a copy.

I shall be glad if I can be of service at any time and if I should obtain any Lee evidences I will report the matter to you.

I am sorry that I cannot send a more serviceable reply.

RALPH J. BEEVOR,
Langley, Lemsford Road, St. Albans, England.

SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES ON VIRGINIA.

I quote the following passage from the address of Sir Auckland Geddes, British Ambassador, at the Centennial of the University of Virginia, June 2, 1921, which has just been published in the *Alumni Bulletin:*

"To this day as in the days of Queen Elizabeth, the word 'Virginia' stirs in the mind of the British a feeling hard in detail to define but not less real, not less cordial, because of that difficulty. In that feeling there is something perhaps of the spirit and mystery of adventure, something of the idea of high born lineage and courtly grace, something born of experience, of the confident expectation of beauty, something of gallantry, something of bravery, courage, loyalty and service. For reasons hard in detail to analyze but at their spring perhaps connected with the ancient loyalty and affection for a great Queen and the tradition of what she and the men of her spacious days stand for in Britain's story, but added to and reinforced by the countless tributaries of history and the record of your achievements, Virginia and all that is hers holds in British minds and British affections a place apart among the States of this Republic." F. H.

GRAY, WICKHAM, SHORE, &C.

(From Family Bible Records)

Joseph Gray and Sarah Simmons were married the 14th December, 1729.

William Gray was born 12th April 1732—died 2d October 1750.

Mary Gray was born 10th February 173/4.

Elizabeth Gray was born 16th January 1735/6—died 24th September 1761.

Anne Gray born 1st Jan. 1737/8.

Sarah Gray born 7th November 1739.

John Gray born 25th July 1741—died 4th April 1760.

Edwin Gray born 18th July 1743.
Peter Gray born 23d June 1745—died 26th December 1761.
James Gray born 1st March 1746/7.
By a second marriage
Joseph Gray born 10th June 1749—died 23rd January 1754.
Lucy Gray born 11th March 1750/1.
Jane Gray born 26th June 1753—died 27th February 1754.
Mary Gray married Littleton Tazewell 13th Feb. 1753.
Sarah Gray married Major James Wall, of Greensville Co., Va.
Edwin Gray was a member of the U. S. Congress early in the century.
James Gray was dreadfully wounded at the battle of Brandywine.
Lucy Gray married Cod. John Edmunds, of Brunswick Co., Va., 19th October 1769.

Mr. and Mrs. Tazewell had two sons and one daughter, Mary. She married the Rev. Wm. Fanning, an Episcopal clergyman, March 7th, 1782 [1772?]; had one child, Mary Smith Fanning, born September 25th, 1775. She married Mr. John Wickham, Dec. 24th, 1791. She had two sons, William Fanning and Edmund Fanning Wickham. Wm. F. was born 23rd November 1793. Edmund was born 30th July 1796. Mrs. Mary Smith Fanning Wickham died Feb. 1st, 1799.

Mrs. Mary Smith Fanning Wickham died Feb. 1st, 1799.

John Wickham died Jan. 22nd, 1839—aged 76.

Henry, son of Mary Gray and Littleton Tazewell, was born the 27th November, 1753—died January 4th, 1799, in Philadelphia, where he was Senator U. S.

Littleton Waller Tazewell, born 17th December 1774—died 6th May 1860. He was Senator of U. S. and Gov. of Virginia.

Wm. F. Wickham married Anne Carter, daughter of Robert Carter of Shirley, and had an only son, General William Carter Wickham. He married Lucy P. Taylor, a granddaughter of Col. John Taylor of Caroline.

Edmund F. Wickham married Lucy Carter, daughter of Robert Carter of Shirley, had 4 children, 2 sons and 2 daughters. John is now a Judge of one of the highest courts in St. Louis.

W. Leigh Wickham, merchant in St. Louis, unmarried.

John married a daughter of Col. Graham, and has a large family. His daughter, Mary Fanning, married Julius Y. Archer, S. C., who was killed at the battle of Missionary Ridge. His widow died 3 or 4 years ago leaving a son and daughter, Samuel P. E. F. W.; daughter Lucy married George H. Byrd, merchant of N. Y.

Major and Mrs. Wall had 5 daughters and 4 sons. Mary married Mr. Grayson, of England, had a large family.

Jane Gray born ———. Married Thomas Shore of Violet Bank, a merchant shipper, had 3 daughters.

Elizabeth Smith Shore born Jan. 26th, 1797—died March 20th, '58. Married Dr. John Gilliam 14th Feb. 1823, had a large family.

Mary Louisa Shore born March, 1898 (1798?), died May, 1878. Married Dr. Wm. Sheppen, of Philadelphia, had a large family.

Jane Gray died in infancy.

Dr. and Mrs. John Gilliams' daughter Jane married her cousin, Thomas Lee Shippen, 11th Jan. 1860, had only one child, a son, William, born May 20th, 1861. Jane Gray Gilliam Shippen died August 3rd, 1875.

James Skelton, son of Elizabeth Smith Shore Gilliam, was Past Assistant Surgeon, U. S. N. Married Georgia Clifford Nicoll, daughter of Judge John C. Nicoll, of Savannah, Georgia. Judge of the Supreme Court of Georgia, 26th November 1857. Lost on board U. S. S. Levant in going from Sandwich Islands to Panama, September, 1860 His widow never recovered from the shock and died August 1st, 1869. Let only one child, a daughter, Lula A. Gilliam Thomas.

Theophilus Field Gilliam married Mary Eppes.

Eliza Shore married Robert Maitland Dunlop, son of James Dunlop. Married at Violet Bank by Rev. W. H. Platt 4th March 1862. Has only one child, a daughter, Lydia Shore Dunlop.

Mrs. Dr. Wm. Shippen's daughter Jane married Edward Wharton, of Philadelphia. Had only one child, a daughter, Mary Louise. She and her father died while on a visit to Mrs. Ellen Wharton in Baltimore.

Thos. Lee Shippen married Jane Gray, daughter of Dr. John and Mrs. Eliza Smith Gilliam, of Violet Bank.

Wm. Shippen married Achsah, daughter of Charles Carroll, of Baltimore. Had only one child, a son, Charles Carroll, a physician.

Alice Lee Shippen married Dr. Joshua M. Wallace, of Philadelphia. Left only one child, a son, Shippen Wallace, a chemist, in Philadelphia.

JAMES STEVENS.

(See his Journal, January Magazine)

James Stevens who came to Virginia from Baldernock, near Glasgow, Scotland, engaged in the milling business in Halifax county. Toward the close of the Revolution, the British commander in America sent an expedition to the James river and vicinity, under General Phillips, whose second in command was Benedict Arnold, with instructions to destroy the mills, warehouses and sources of supplies drawn upon by the patriot army. Cornwallis, coming north from the Carolinas, accompanied by Tarleton and his dragoons, carried on the work of destruction in Halifax county. The work was carried out under the guise of military necessity, but when a sergeant and a comrade robbed

a house and violated a young girl, Cornwallis promptly halted the column, arrested the criminals, held a drum head court martial and executed the sentence, immediately, by hanging the offenders at Halifax Court House.

James Stevens, as did other millers, relied upon Scotland as the source of mill supplies, especially burr stones, and his voyage was undertaken to repair th damage done by the British army.

The Stevens descendants intermarried widely with the older families of Halifax county. Two of James Stevens' daughters, Ann and Margaret married Alexander and Nathaniel Carter, sons of Theodrick Carter, who was sheriff of Halifax county from November 1799 to November 1801. Dr. Walter Bennett, of "Poplar Mount," Halifax county, left numerous descendants who intermarried with descendants of Jams Stevens and Theodrick Carter. Dr. Walter Bennett and Theodrick Carter were among the gentlemen designated to take the first census of Halifax county, since published by the government. Previous efforts had failed because of the belief that the census was connected with a scheme to increase taxes.

W. H. C.

PANNILL, BANKS, &c.

Wm. Pannill m. Sarah Bayly and she m. 2dly Wm. Strother.

In her will she mentions, along with her Strother children, her daughter Frances Banks and hence this Frances Banks is frequently set down as daughter of Wm. Strother—but, as a matter of fact, she was daughter of the 1st husband Wm. Pannill. The proofs of this are conclusive.

She, Frances Pannill, was born about 1745 and married Gerard Banks, Jr., of Stafford, later of Orange Co. They had a son Gerard.

This son Gerard has been identified with Gerard Banks, Jr., of "Green Bank", near Fredericksburg, who married Frances Bruce.

In this belief, I was at much pains to collect from various sources (mostly private) a list of children of Gerard Banks and Frances Bruce.

I discovered, however, that Gerard, son of Gerard Banks and Frances Pannill, could not have been the Gerard who m. Frances Bruce—in spite of the cocksure statement of some genealogists.

Gerard Banks who married Frances Pannill made his will 9 Apr. 1767, and it was proved 25 Aug. 1768. He speaks of his wife as being with child. So the child must have been born in 1767. Mrs. Strother, the grandmother, names the child in her will, 1774, as "Gerard."

The Gerard who m. Frances Bruce couldn't have been this Gerard as the former was b. around about 1725.

In the list of children of this pair is "Frances Banks" who "m.

Samuel Slaughter." One list sent me added: "Their son was Gov. of Wisconsin."

I notice in Slaughter's "St. Mark's Parish" (Green's edition) that this Samuel Slaughter was a brother of Rev. Philip Slaughter who wrote "St. Mark's Parish" and that he married 2dly, Virginia Stanard.

Samuel Slaughter is set down in "St. Mark's Parish" as marrying (1st) "Miss Banks." Her identity was unknown. She was, as has been shown, daughter of Gerard Banks and Frances Bruce and was named Frences. One of her sisters, Agatha, married Wm. Waller Hening, author of the "Statutes."

TRIST WOOD,
New Orleans, La.

MARRIAGE NOTICES IN "VIRGINIA HERALD AND FREDERICKSBURG ADVERTISER," IN LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

Issue 1790

Jan. 21st. Capt. John Taylor to the agreeable Miss Sally Garner, Jan. 7th, 1790.

Jan. 28th. Mr. William Miner to Miss Mildred Lewis, daughter of Mr. John Lewis, Jan. 28th, 1790.

Feb. 4th. "Mr. Benjamin Twentyman of Orange Co., aged 70, to the amiable and accomplished Mrs. Betty Nulty, aged 50. A Lady endowed with every Requisite to render the Married State completely happy." Tues. 26th of January.

Feb. 18th. Mr. Edward Winder, merchant, to Mrs. Jane Ward, relict of the late Capt. James Ward.

Mar. 4th. Mr. James Pettigrew, merchant, to Miss Polly Taylor.

July 29th. Mr. Charles Croughton, merchant, to Miss Betsey Hudson.

1791

Jan. 27th. At Urbanna Dec. 30th, 1790, Hudson Muse, Esqr., Collector for the port of Tappahannock, to Miss Agnes Neilson.

Apr. 21st. Hay Taliaferro to Mrs. Lucy Thruston.

Apr. 28th. At Dumfries, John Dalrymple, merchant, of this place, to Frances Hesloe, of that place.

May 5th. Mr. James Blair, merchant, of Fredericksburgh, to Helen Shepherd, daughter of Andrew Shepherd, of Orange Co.

Aug. 11th. Dr. Horace Buckner to Mrs. ——— Jones, relict of the late Strother Jones, Esq., of Culpeper Co.

Sep. 22nd. Clement Montague, aged 70, to Mrs. Hannah Lewis, widow of James Lewis, deceased, aged 25 years.

1799.

Jan. 29th. Mr. Henry Dunn, of Tappahannock, to Miss Lucy Julian, daughter of the late Dr. Julian, of this town (on Sunday evening, Jan. 27th).

Apr. 2nd. Capt. Robt. Parrott to Miss Sally Read (on Sunday evening, Mar. 31st.)

Apr. 9th. On Thursday, the 4th inst., Mr. Newton Berryman, merchant, of Port Royal, to Miss A. Hipkins, daughter of the late Leroy Hipkins, of "Golden Vale."

May 7th. Mr. John Swann, merchant, to Miss Anna Wilson, daughter of Mr. Wm. Wilson, of this town (Sunday evening, May 5th.)

May 14th. At Mansfield, the seat of Mann Page, Esqr., of this county, Col. Wm. Augustine Washington to Miss Sally Tayloe, daughter of the late John Tayloe, Esqr., of Mount Airy.

In this town Mr. Samuel Chewning to Mrs. Ann Taylor, relict of the late Capt. John Taylor.

June 25th. On June 20th Mr. John S. Farrish to Jane Ward, daughter of the late Capt. James Ward of this place.

June 28th. Francis Jourdan of Louisa Co., to Miss Polly Byers, of Hanover Co.

July 2nd. Mr. Richard Johnston, merchant, to Miss Nancy Walker, daughter of the late Mr. Thomas Walker (June 27th.)

July 19th. Mr. Luke Thornton to Miss Lucy Sleet (June 27th, in Orange Co.).

In Dumfries on Sunday evening, July 14th, Mr. Carr Chapman to Miss Sarah Thornton, youngest daughter of the Rev. Thomas Thornton.

July 12th. In Fredericksburgh on Wed. July 10th, Mr. Thornton Keys to Miss Christian Razer.

Aug. 9th. Married lately in Port Royal, Mr. James Miller, merchant, to Miss Betsey Robb, daughter of James Robb, Esqr.

Mr. William Dunlop, merchant, to Miss Jane Bankhead.

Sept. 24th. At Tappahannock Mr. Tayloe's horse Leviathan, carrying 180 lbs., ran 5 miles against Col. Tomlin's horse Wildair, carrying 110 lbs. Leviathan won by 4 inches. (This is such a remarkable race that I copied this.—L. W. R.)

Oct. 18th. In Pr. Wm. Co. on Oct. 12th, Mr. James Vass, of Falmouth, merchant, to Miss Susanna Brooke, of said county.

Nov. 5th. On Oct. 31st, Capt. Westcomb Hudgins to Miss Nelly Hardy, both of this town.

Nov. 22d. Sunday, Nov. 17th, at Chestnut Hill, Richmond Court House, by Rev. M. L. Weems, Lt. Jesse Ewell and Miss Mildred Beale.

Nov. 26th. On Nov. 21st Mr. Triplett Estes, merchant, to Miss Sally Lucas, daughter of Mr. Zach. Lucas.

Dec. 6th. On Dec. 5th by the Rev. Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Willis Lee, of Fauquier, to Miss Polly Richards, daughter of Mr. John Richards, of this town.

Mar. 18th. In Fredericksburg on Sunday, Mar. 16th, 1800, Mr. Elisha Thatcher, merchant, to Miss Betsy Saunders.

Apr. 29th. In Stafford Co. on Apr. 20th, Mr. Richard C. Tutt, of Spottsylvania Co., to Mrs. Peggy Garnett, relict of the late Thos. Garnett, Esqr., of Travellers Rest.

May 2nd. In Fredericksburg, on May 1st, Mr. James Allen to Mrs. S. Hurst, relict of the late Mr. Kemp Hurst.

May 27th. Lately in Caroline Co., George C. Taylor, Esqr., of Orange, to Miss Eliza Dixon.

June 3d. On Wed., May 28th, 1800, in Caroline Co., Philip Thornton, Esqr., to Miss Sally Conway, dau. of the late Francis Conway, Esqr.

June 10th. On Sunday, June 1st, in Culpeper Co., Mr. Samuel Stephens, rope maker of this town, to Mrs. Hill, of that county.

July 4th. On Sat. Eve., June 28th, in Philadelphia, by Bishop White, Mr. William Doane, Editor of the Aurora, to Mrs. Margaret Hartman Bache, relict of Benj. Franklin Bache.

July 3d. In Stafford Co., on Thursday, June 26th, Alex^{d} Morsan, Esqr., Merchant, of Falmouth, to Miss Ann Carson Alexander, dau. of Wm. Alexander, of Snowdon.

July 11th. On July 10th, by the Rev. Mr. Stevenson, Anderson McWilliams, Esqr., to Miss Clary McWilliams, dau. of the late Capt. Joshua McWilliams.

July 25th. In Fredericksburgh, on July 24th, Capt. James Allen to Miss Betsy Smith, dau. of Mr. Wm. Smith.

CARTER OF CLEVE AND LAFAYETTE COUNTY, MISS.

The following entries were taken from a record book in the possession of Robert Corbin Carter, Esq., of Lafayette County, Mississippi; transcribed by W. Carter Howry in 1910 for Lucien Beverley Howry of Washington, D. C.

Old Book of Records Devoted to Births, Deaths, Marriages and Leases of Lands, Etc.

Landon Carter and Mildred Willis were married Saturday, Feb. 15, 1772.

Mary Champe, first daughter of the above marriage, born 15th Sept. 1773, died Feb. 20, 1774.

Mildred Ann Byrd, second daughter, born Oct. 20, 1774.

Lucy Landon, third daughter, born Monday, 29 April, 1776.

Sarah, fourth daughter, born Aug. 10, 1777; died Mch. 17, 1805.

Mildred Carter died Oct. 20, 1778.

The above Mildred Ann Byrd was married to Robert Mercer March 22, 1792.

The above Lucy Landon was married to John Minor Dec. 12, 1793.

Landon Carter and Elizabeth Thornton were married Saturday, March 16, 1782.

Robert Charles, Son of Landon & Eliz. Carter, was born at Cleve Apr. 24, 1783, For whom stood sponsors when he was baptised by the Rev. Rodham Kenner, Robt. Wormeley Carter, grandfather by the maternal side to the infant, by George Carter of Corotoman as proxy, Landon Carter son to R. W. Carter, George Carter, also son of R. W. C. and Landon Carter, father of the infant—Winifred Travers Carter, grandmother of the infant, by Eliz. his mother as proxy, Catherine Carter and Anna Beale Carter his aunts Mildred Ann Byrd, Lucy Landon and Sarah Carter, three sisters of the infant.

St. Leger Landon, another son of the same marriage, was born Dec. 19, 1785, privately baptised by the Rev. R. Kenner Jan. 11, 1786, and publicly baptised by the Rev. John Lowe, 26 of same month. For him stood sponsors the parson, Dr. David Morrow; Geo. Catlet, proxy for William Lindsay and his father; Mrs. Frances Humphry Toy Fitzugh, Miss Anne Fox and Mrs. Fanny Lee by his mother, as proxy.

Eliza Travers, a daughter of same marriage, was born at Cleve Aug. 31, 1787, and her sponsors were her father and mother, Thos. Ludwell Lee and his Lady, Mildred Ann Byrd, Lucy Landon and Sarah Carter, her three sisters.

Thos.Otway Byrd, a son of the same marriage, was born at Sabine Hall July 10, 1790. Was baptised by the Rev. Isaac William Giberne of the parish of Lunenburg, and his sponsors were his father and mother, his grandfather Robt. W. Carter, his grandmother Winifred Travers Carter, John Carter of Pittsylvania, Wm. Currie Beale, his two Brothers Robt. Charles and St. Leger Landon Carter, Mrs. Lucy Colston, her two daughters Susan and Elizabeth Landon Colston, Harriet Beale of Chestnut Hill and his sister Eliza Travers Carter.

Fanny Lee, a daughter of the same marriage, was born at Cleve Apr 9, 1792, was baptised June following at Berry Hill by the Rev. Mr. Buchan of Stafford Co., and her sponsors were her father and mother, Mrs. Mary Lee; her uncle and aunt, Thos. Ludwell and Fanny Lee; Miss Lucinda Lee, Miss Charlotte Boynton and Mr. Geo. Lee.

Charles William, a son of the same marriage, was born 12 April and baptised at the W. church in St. Mary's parish and Co. of Caroline June 22 following (1794), by the Rev. Abner Waugh, and his sponsors were his father, by proxy, Mr. George Catlet, and his mother; his uncle, Mr. Reuben Beale, by proxy, Mr. Laurence Catlet; Mrs. Eliz. Morrow and his two sisters, Sarah & Eliza Travers Carter.

Edward Carter, a sixth son of the same marriage, was born Dec. 21, 1797, and was baptised at Cleve by the Rev. George Hartley Spierin, of the parish of St. Asaph, in Caroline Co. His sponsors were Mr. John Minor and Robt. Mercer, his brothers in law, by their proxies, Mr. John Gobande and the Rev. Mr. Spierin, his father, his bros. Robt. Charles, St. Leger Landon and Thos. Otway Byrd Carter, his sisters Mrs. M. A. B. Mercer, Sarah and Eliza T. Carter, and his cousins Eliz. Carter and Eliz. and Winifred Lee.

Anna Maria, a third daughter, was born at Cleve 1st Nov. 1799. She was baptised on 6th Jany. 1800, at Cleve, by the Rev. Abner Waugh, of St. Mary's parish, in the Co. of Caroline, and her sponsors were her father and mother, her sisters Sarah, Eliza Travers, and Fanny Lee Carter, her bros. Robt. Charles, by the minister as proxy, and St. Leger Landon, by his father, as proxy.

A seventh son of the above marriage was born dead Apr. 21, 1801.

The above Robt. C. Carter and Harwar Beale, daughter of Reuben and Judith Beale, of Beale's Farm, Madison Co., were married on the 4th April, 1805.

Eliz. Landon, eldest daughter of the last mentioned marriage, was born 1st day of Feb., 1806, and was baptised 3 May at Cleve. Her sponsors were her grandfather, Landon Carter; her uncles, St. L. Landon, Thos. Otway Byrd and Edward Carter; her grandmothers, Judith Beale and Elizabeth Carter; her aunts, Eliza Travers, Fanny Lee and Anna Maria Carter. (Eliz. Landon married a Mr. Bradford and is buried at Madison Co. Court House.)*

The above St. Leger Landon Carter and Elizabeth Ludwell Lee, daughter of Thomas Ludwell and Fanny Lee, of Coton, in the County of Loudoun, were married by the Rev. Mr. Dunn 6th Oct., 1808.

Deaths.

Landon Carter, of Cleve, King George, (Va.) Co., died at his mansion house on the 10th day of Dec., 1811, 35 minutes after 5 o'clock A. M., in the 61st year of his age. It may indeed with much truth be said that in his death his family have met with a loss.

Reuben Beale, of Chestnut Hill, Richmond Co., died 2nd Nov., 1802, in the 52nd year of his age.

Edward C. Carter, son of Landon of Cleve, died there the 1st of Oct. in the year 1818, in the 21st year of his age.

Frances Lee Tidball, daughter of Landon and Eliz. Carter, of Cleve, died at the mansion of her husband, Josiah Tidball, in the Co. of Fauquier, on the 29th Apr., 1822.

* The notation in parenthesis as to the marriage and death of Eliz. Landon was entered in the handwriting of Mrs. Robert Otway Carter 95 or more years after the birth and baptismal entry immediately preceding it.—L. B. Howry.

Anna Maria Carter, daugh. of Landon & E., of Cleve, died at Cleve Wednesday, Oct. 30th, 1822, in the 23 year of her age.

Elizabeth Carter, of Cleve, (wife of Landon), died Saturday, 12th of Sept., 1840, in her 82 year, at Cleve.

Robt. C. Carter died at Cleve 18th Aug., 1849, 66 yrs., 3 mos., 25 days.

Olivia Hanson Carter, Daugh. of R. & H. Carter, died at their residence, Madison, Aug. 8th, 1824, in her 13th yr.

Landon St. Leger Carter, Son Robt. C. & Harwar Carter, died at Cleve, King George (Va.) Co., Oct. 15, 1835, in his 28th year.

Judith Beale, daugh. of Landon & Eliz., of Sabine Hall, at her mansion in Madison Co., 18th June, 1836, in her 87th year. Interred in Madison.

Emma Cleve Carter died at Cleve, K. G. Co., Aug. 8, 1840, aged 13 years, 11 mo., 19 days.

Harwar Carter, wife of R. C. Carter, died at Cleve Tuesday, 11th Aug., 1840.

(The record ends here abruptly. For Bible entries see following.)

The following entries were copied from family Bible in possession of Robert Corbin Carter, Esq., of La Fayette Co., Mississippi, by W. Carter Howry for Lucien Beverley Howry, of Washington, D. C., in October, 1910. The entries are as follows:

(Bible)

Family Record immediately preceding Apocrypha.

(Marriages)

Landon Carter, of Cleve, to Elizabeth Carter, then widow of Peter Thornton, 16th March, 1782.

Reuben Beale, of Chestnut Hill, to Judith Carter, of Sabine Hall, the 16th day of January, 1773.

Robt. Charles Carter, Son of Landon, of Cleve, to Harwar Beale, Daughter of Reuben & Judith, 4th day of April, 1805.

St. Leger Landon Carter, Son of Landon, of Cleve, to Elizabeth Lee, Daugh. of Thos. Lee, of Loudon, the 6th day of Oct., 1808.

Frances Lee Carter, daughter of Landon & Eliz., of Cleve, to Josiah Tidball, of Fauquier, at Cleve, on the 25th day May, 1820.

Robt. O. Carter, son of R. C. Carter, to Edmonia F. Corbin, daughter of Richd Randolph Corbin, the great nephew of Mrs. Judith Beale, at Oakenham, the residence of Mr. Thos. W. Fauntleroy, Middlesex Co., Va., on the 30th Sept., 1845.

(Births)

Landon Carter, of Cleve, was born July 11th, 1751.

Elizabeth, his wife, on 3rd day of Sept., 1759.

Reuben Beale on the 1st day of Feb., 1751.

Judith, his wife, on the 28th day of Oct., 1749.

Robert Charles Carter, Son of Landon & E., on the 24th day of Apr., 1783.

Harwar Beale, his wife, on the 23d day of Feb., 1786.

St. Leger Landon Carter, son of Landon & E., on the 19th day of Dec., 1785.

Elizabeth Ludwell Lee, his wife, on 16th Apr., 1787.

Eliza Travers Carter, Daugh. of Landon & E., on the 31st day of Aug., 1787.

Thos. Otway B. Carter, Son of L. & E., on the 10th day of July, 1790.

Fanny Lee Carter, Daugh. of Landon & E., on the 9th day of Apr., 1792.

Edward Carter, Son of Landon & E., on the 21 day of Dec., 1797.

Anna Maria Carter, Daugh. of Landon & E., on the 1st day of Nov., 1799.

Eliz. Landon Carter, Daugh. of Robt. C. & H., on the 1st day of Feb., 1806.

Landon St. Leger Carter, Son of Robt. C. & H., on the 1st day of Mch., 1808.

Robt. Otway Carter, Son of Robt. C. & H., was born on the 3d day of Jany., 1810.

Olivia Hanson Carter, Daugh. of R. C. & H., on the 23d day Feb., 1812.

Edward St. Orville Carter, Son of R. & H., on the 11th May, 1814.

Mary Eleanor Carter, Daugh. of Robt. C. & H., born Oct. 14, 1816.

Clarence Hervie Carter, Son of Robt. C. & H., was born Oct. 17th, 1818.

Flora Berkeley Carter, Daugh. of Robt. C. & H., was born Feb. 7th, 1821.

Laura Montreville Carter, Daugh. of Robt. C. & H., was born 7th Nov., 1823.

Emma Cleve, Daugh. of Robt. C. & H., was born 20th Aug., 1826.

Robt. Corbin, Son of R. O. Carter & Edmonia Fauntleroy Carter, was born 11th Aug., 1846, State of Miss., La Fayette Co.

Edmonia Beverley, Daughter of Robt. O. & Edmonia F. Carter, was born 3d Oct., 1847.

Otway Lane, Son of Robt. O. & E. F., was born 24th Jany., 1849.

Anna Fauntleroy, Daugh. of Robt. O. & E. F., was born Oct. 7, 1850.

(The Bible entries were discontinued at this point. For additional record see next section.)

After the last entry four more children were born to Robt. O. and E. F. Carter. They were, in the order of birth, as follows: St. Leger Landon; Mary Harwar; Charles Cleve; and Berkeley (son). For fuller information as to these and the other children see "Notes on Carter Family", attached at end of record. All eight children were born in Mississippi. L. B. H.

Carter Family Record Paper.

Prepared by Robert C. Carter, of La Fayette Co., Mississippi.

Deaths.

Flora B. Carter, daughter of Robt. C. & Harwar Carter, died at Cotland, Lafayette Co., Mississippi, between 8 & 9 o'clock Wednesday night, May 27, 1857, aged 36 years, interred at Cotland.*

Robert O. Carter, Son of Robert C. & Harwar Carter, died at his residence in Oxford, La Fayette Co., Miss., on the morning of the 7th of March, 1874, aged 64 years, 2 mo. & 4 days, between 3 & 4 o'clock after a protracted illness of many days. Interred in the Episcopal graveyard in Oxford on Sunday morning, the 8th Inst.

Mary E. Carter, daughter of Robt. C. Carter & Harwar Carter, died at the residence of her nephew, Otway L. Carter, in Oxford, Miss., on the morning of May 22nd, 1888, aged 71 yrs. and 7 mos., after a few days illness. Interred in her brother's lot in the Episcopal graveyard.

C. H. Carter departed this life Feb. 8th, 1894, aged 75 years, 4 mo., after a long illness. Interred by† his sister Flora at Cotland.

Laura M. Carter departed this life Feb. 18th, 1896, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, age 72 yrs., 3 mos. and 11 days. Interred at Cotland with her Sister Flora and Brother Clarence.

Edward St. Orville Carter, 3rd son of Robt. C. Carter and Harwar Carter, died at his residence, "Cotland," La Fayette Co., Miss., at 2:30 o'clock on the morning Sept. 5th, 1896. He was 82 yrs. old on the 11th of May, 1896. He was interred at the family lot near his home.

(For additional information see following.)

Notes on the Carter Family.

Prepared by Lucien Beverley Howry, Washington, D. C., 1921.

Four younger children of Robert Otway Carter and Edmonia F. C. Carter are not included in the Bible entries which appear to have been discontinued with the birth of the fourth child, Anna Fauntleroy, in 1850. Those omitted were in the order of their birth: St. Leger Landon; Mary Harwar (always called "Molcie"); Charles Cleve; and Berkeley (a son).

Of the entire eight five have died: Charles Cleve (according to tombstone, Oct. 13, 1861, aged 4 mos., 23 days); Anna Fauntleroy, April 18, 1872; Edmonia Beverley, April 17, 1879; Berkeley in 1889 (said to have been aged 22); and Otway Lane, Dec. 14, 1917, at his home in Fort Worth, Texas.

* "Cotland" was the name of a farm, a life interest in which had been conveyed by Dr. R. O. Carter to his sisters Mary E. and Laura M., and to Clarence H., in the year 1852.—L. B. H.

† Meaning "by the side of".—L. B. H.

Three were married: (1) Edmonia Beverley, January 14, 1869, to Charles Bowen Howry (a son of Judge James M. Howry) of Oxford, Mississippi; Charles B. Howry had served as an officer in the Confederate army, and in later life was appointed by President Cleveland a judge of the U. S. Court of Claims at Washington upon which he served 18 years (1897-1915); Edmonia Beverley Howry was survived by two sons, Lucien Beverley Howry of Washington, D. C. (1921); and Willard Carter Howry, died 1919. (Latter served during the World War as an officer of the American Red Cross in France and Siberia; also a volunteer soldier in the Spanish-American war.) The foregoing marriage was recorded in the Howry family Bible.

(2) Otway Lane, June 19, 1873, to Fanny Lovie McKie of Mississippi; his children were Charles Otway (Captain, U. S. A., during World War and Captain, Quartermaster Corps, Regular Army, 1921); Bracton* Cleve (deceased); and two daughters, Fanny Lovie and Beverley, who reside with their mother in Fort Worth, Texas. Capt. Charles Otway Carter has been married twice—first on March 13, 1899, at Fort Worth, Texas, to Virginia Pearl Burford, who died Oct. 3, 1908; and secondly, on Sept. 14, 1910, to Florence Annie Price of Omaha, Nebraska.

(3) Mary Harwar on Sept. 1, 1880, to James Melmoth Sloan of Mississippi who afterwards became a prominent business man of St. Louis, Mo., (vice-president and director in the Hamilton-Brown Corporation) and died there in 1916; their surviving children, all of St. Louis, are: Isla (Mrs. Mark McCausland Anderson); Lucia (Mrs. Henry Harold Hopkins); Berkeley (a daughter); Eugene Williams (served in France during World War as Captain, U. S. A.); Mildred; Carter; and Mary.

Robert Corbin Carter at last accounts was the sole remaining member of his family in Lafayette Co., Miss. For many years he lived at "Fair View," the plantation which had belonged to his father, Dr. Robert O. Carter, but now resides upon a place of his own 12 miles west of Oxford, the county seat. A Confederate soldier, he served in the Army of Northern Virginia, was captured and long held a prisoner of war. He has never married. His surviving brother, St. Leger L., also a bachelor, has spent much of his life in Oklahoma, Texas and other States west of the Mississippi River.

Robert Charles Carter, born at Cleve in 1783, was married April 4, 1805, to Harwar Beale, daughter of Reuben and Judith Beale, the latter

* "Bracton" is not a corruption of the family name Braxton. Bracton Cleve was named by his father, a lawyer, after Bracton, noted English legal authority often referred to by Blackstone in his Commentaries.
O. L. Carter, the father, graduated in law at the University of Mississippi; practised his profession in Oxford, Miss., for a number of years; and removed to Texas about 1890. He served as a special attorney for the U. S. Department of Justice in Indian matters west of the Mississisippi River from 1894 to 1897. L. B. H.

a daughter of Landon Carter of Sabine Hall. Robert C. and Harwar Carter spent much of their lives in Madison Co., Va., where they had property. Both died at Cleve, she in 1840 and he nine years later. According to some who remembered him, Robert Charles Carter was a man of fine appearance and manners, somewhat reserved in his relations with others, and very careful in his attire; also punctilious to the extent that he made a point of transacting no business, unless unavoidable, outside of his "office." An oil portrait of him is in the possession of his granddaughter, Mrs. Sloan of Saint Louis.

His brother, St. Leger Landon Carter, poet and author of the miscellaneous collection in prose and verse, published in 1844 under the rather curious title of "Nugae by Nugator," was the last Carter who resided permanently at Cleve. The dates of his birth and marriage appear in the foregoing record, but that of his death does not. After his death the Cleve estate was sold.*

Robert Otway Carter, son of Robert Charles and Harwar Beale Carter, was a physician and planter. He received his medical education at Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia; and in 1835 removed to what is now Lafayette Co., Mississippi. He is mentioned in Rowland's Mississippi (Vol. II, L-Z, p. 18) as one of the early citizens of Wyatt, a community which decayed rapidly after the panic of 1837. Shortly after he made his home in Oxford, the county seat of Lafayette Co., and later the seat of the University of Mississippi. There he succeeded professionally and financially; and built for himself on South Street a handsome home amidst spacious and well-shaded grounds. The house still stands but a considerable portion of the surrounding grounds has been built upon by others. He also acquired an extensive plantation situated about 15 miles west of Oxford. This place was well stocked with slaves and devoted to the culture of cotton. Dr. Carter being fond of country life spent much time there. The plantation house situated upon the brow of a very high hill commanded a splendid view of the fields extending a mile or more north and west to the Tallahatchie River and of the forests beyond. Hence the name of "Fair View" which was given it. After the death of St. Leger Landon Carter of Cleve some of the negroes at the latter place were transferred to the Mississippi plantation.

Ten years after his removal to Mississippi, Dr. Carter returned to Virginia to marry Edmonia Fauntleroy Corbin, daughter of Richard Randolph Corbin and his first wife Catherine Moore Fauntleroy. The marriage took place at Oakenham, Middlesex Co., the residence of Thos. W. Fauntleroy (uncle of Mrs. Carter by the maternal side), Sept. 30, 1845. R. R. Corbin, her father, was the son of Gawin L.

* St. Leger Landon Carter adopted his nephew, Landon St. L. (son of Robt. Charles and Harwar B. Carter) who went to Cleve to live and died there; after his death another nephew, Edward St. Orville, lived much at Cleve with his widowed and childless uncle.—L. B. H.

Corbin and Maria (Beverley) Corbin. Born in Virginia, he like his son-in-law had removed to Mississippi where he had bought land and established himself as a planter.

All of Dr. Carter's surviving brothers and sisters, except one sister, removed at one time or another from Virginia to Mississippi, beginning with the year 1852; and took up their residence upon a farm, originally called the Simm's place, but renamed by them and known for many years after as "Cotland." This place is five miles west of Oxford. There the five, three sisters and two brothers, dwelt the remainder of their lives, some of them to advanced age, until the year 1896 when the sole survivor, Edward St. O., died aged eighty-two. None ever married. The two brothers, Edward St. O. and Clarence H., were in the Confederate service.

The sister who remained in Virginia was Elizabeth Landon. The record gives the date of her birth only. However, she was married to May Burton Bradford on May 20, 1832. They resided in Madison County. After Mr. Bradford's death Dec. 21, 1879, his widow continued to live there until her death which occurred January 4, 1901, in her 95th year. Her children were five: Osmond; Landon A.; B. H. (or B. F.); Judith Harwar; another, a son, did in 1862 aged nineteen. (Letter Miss J. H. Bradford June 29, 1909.)

The Civil War dealt the fortunes of Dr. Carter a severe blow, as, indeed, it did those of many another in his section, but he met the changed conditions with courage, and calmly pursued the practice of his profession. His town house and the Fair View plantation (the latter much impaired in value) remained in the possession of his family until long after his death.

He died at his home in Oxford on March 7, 1874, aged (as the record states) 64 years, 2 months and 4 days; and was interred in the cemetery of St. Peter's Episcopal Church to which he and his family were attached.

Dr. Carter is said to have been a man of noble presence and strong character, grave, courteous and refined. He took high rank in his profession, and was influential in his community. He was frank of speech yet gentle in manner; and possessed the faculty of uttering very plain truths without giving serious offense. A Whig in politics before the Civil War, he was opposed to secession before it took place, but when the die was cast espoused the cause of his people; and at the close of hostilities aligned himself with all the influence at his command with the better element which strove to redeem his adopted State from the tyranny and corruption of carpetbag government.

His widow, Edmonia F. Carter, survived him for more than forty years, dying at the home of her daughter, Mrs. J. M. Sloan, in the city of St. Louis, Feb. 5, 1917, aged, as stated in her obituary, ninety-two.

She was interred in the Episcopal cemetery at Oxford, Mississippi, by the side of her husband.

St. Leger Landon Carter of Cleve.

The Bible gives the dates of birth and marriage of St. Leger Landon Carter of Cleve, but not the date of his death, a fact which I noted on page 8 of the matter I sent you. Recently I found in the Richmond Daily Whig of Tuesday, December 23, 1851, this item:

"*Died.* On Friday, the 12th inst., at Cleve, King George county, in the 65th year of his age St. Leger Landon Carter, Esq. He was long a member of the State Senate, and his leisure was devoted to literary pursuits."

St. Leger Landon Carter's death was an important event in his branch of the family, for as I stated in my notes on the family he was the last Carter who resided permanently at Cleve. He was preceded there by his grandfather, Col. Charles Carter, son of Robert ("King") Carter and the latter's wife Elizabeth Landon, and by his father, Landon (son of Charles Carter and wife Anne Byrd). His decease marks approximately the passing of the estate from the Carter family, although I am unable to give date of its sale.

L. B. H.

GENEALOGY.

CORBIN GENEALOGY.

(Continued)

Some of the letters give an insight into the management of Virginia estates. One dated Jan. 1, 1759, was to Mr. James Temple, who was to be general manager of Col. Corbin's plantations on the upper Rappahannock. It is as follows:

"As it will be necessary to say something to you and to suggest to you my thoughts upon the business you have undertaken, I shall endeavor to be particular and circumstantial.

1st. The care of the negroes is the first thing to be recommended that you give me timely notice of their wants that they may be provided with all necessaries; The Breeding wenches more particularly, you must instruct the overseers to be kind and indulgent to, and not force them when with child upon any service or hardship that will be injurious to them and that they have every necessary when in that condition that is needful for them, and the children to be well looked after and to give them every Spring and Fall the Jerusalem oak seed for a week together and that none of them suffer in time of sickness for want of proper care. Observe a prudent and a watchful conduct over the overseers that they attend their business with diligence, keep the negroes in good order and enforce obedience by the example of their own industry, which is a more effectual method in every respect of succeeding and making good crops than hurry and severity. The ways of industry are constant and regular, not to be in a hurry at one time and do nothing at another, but to be always usefully and steadily employed. A man who carries on business in this manner will be prepared for every incident that happens. He will see what work may be proper at the distance of sometime and he gradually and leisurely providing for it, by this foresight he will make everything easie to the People, he will never be in confusion himself and his business instead of a labor will be a pleasure to him.

2nd. Next to the care of the negroes is the care of stock and supposing the necessary care taken, I shall only here mention the use to be made of them for the improvement of the Tobo. grounds, Let them be constantly and regularly pen'd, Let the size of the pens be 1000 Tobo. hills for 100 cattle, and so in proportion for a greater or less quantity, and the pens moved once a week, by this practice steadily

pursued a considerable quantity of land may be provided at Moss' Neck without clearing, and as I intend this seat of land to be a settlement for one of my sons, I would be very sparing of the woods and that piece of woods that lies on the left hand of the Ferry Road must not be cut on any account. A proper use of the cattle will answer every purpose of making Tobo. without the destruction commonly of the timbered land and as you will see this estate once a fortnight, you may easily discover if they have been neglectful of Penning the cattle and moving the cowpens.

Take an exact account of all the negroes and stocks at each plantation and send to me and tho' once a year may be sufficient to take this acct. yet it will be advisable to see them once a month at least; as such an inspection will fix more closely the overseers attentions to those points.

As complaints have been made by the negroes in respect to their provisioning corn, I must desire you to put that matter under such a Regulation as your own prudence will dictate to you: The allowance to be sure is plentiful and they ought to have their Belly full but care must be taken with this pleanty that no waste is committed; you must let Hampton know that the care of the negroes' corn, sending it to mill; always to be provided with meal that every one may have enough and that regularly at stated times is a duty as much incumbent upon him as any other.

As the corn at Moss's Neck is always ready money it will not be advisable to be at much expense in raising hogs, the shattered corn will probably be enough for this purpose, When I receive your acct. of the spare corn at Mosse's Neck and Richland which I hope will be from King and Queen Court I shall give orders to Col. Tucker to send for it.

Let me be acquainted with every incident that and let me have timely notice of everything that is wanted that it may be provided. To imploy the Fall and winter well is the foundation of a successful crop in the summer. You will therefore animate the overseers to great diligence that their work may be in proper forwardness and not have that to do in the spring that ought to be done in the winter. There is business sufficient for every season of the year and to prevent the work of one season from interfering with the work of another depend upon the care of the overseer.

The time of sowing Tobo. seed, the order the plant patch ought to be in and the use of the wheat straw, I have not touched upon, it being too obvious to be overlooked.

Supposing the corn now laid and the Tobo. ripe for Housing; to cut the corn tops and gather the blades in proper time is included under the care of cattle, their preservation in the winter depending upon good fodder. I shall therefore confine myself to Tobo. Tobo.

hhds. should always be provided the 1st week in September; every morning of that month is fit for striking and striping, every morning therefore of this month they should strike as much Tobo. as they can strip whilst the dew is upon the grounds and what they strip in the morning must be stem'd in the Evening; this method constantly practiced the Tobacco will be all prised before Christmas. Weigh well and at least one hhd. in ten gained by finishing the Tobo. thus early.

You shall never want either for my advice or assistance, these instructions will hold good for Poplar Neck, and Portobacco and Perhaps Spotsylvania too.

I now send my two carpenters Mack and Abraham to Mosse's Neck to build a good barn, mend up the quarters and get as many staves and heading as will be sufficient for next years Tobo. HHds; I expect they will complete the whole that is necessary upon the estate by the last of March."

Col. Corbin's letter book shows many examples of the era of extravagance which set in in Virginia about 1750 and which was injuring or ruining so many good estates and destroying the credit of formerly prosperous planters. He attributed it to the great emissions of paper money, first made necessary to carry on Virginia's part in the war against France. Over and over he argues against it. On Aug. 2nd. 1764, writing to Edward Athawes and Son, of London, he said, "That imaginary wealth derived to us by the circulation of paper money was as much a Bubble, to compare small things with great, as the famous South Sea scheme was in England, every man fancied himself rich and lived accordingly, the consequence of which you may now guess".

On Aug. 13, 1764, to Philip Ludwell, "The credit of the country seems to be at a very low ebb, the strongest efforts of industry with its attendant virtue frugality, can alone retrive it, by long and habitual practice; but if luxury still prevails and extravagance continues, all hopes of its recovery will be lost for this generation, the next may take warning from the last and restore to its full lustre that precious jewell, which their degenerate ancestors considered only as a rough pebble. To revive credit to give a brilliancy to this pebble will I believe be attempted the next Assembly".

Col. Corbin was always loyal to the British crown and the disturbances following the passage of the Stamp Act troubled him greatly.

Writing to Robert Dinwiddie Nov. 10, 1765, he says: "Mr. Mercer, distributor of stamps, has been forced to escape his office. This resignation has shut up the courts of justice and thrown everything into confusion. Every evil that can be apprehended is to be dreaded from the present temper and disposition of the people in opposition to this Act of Parliament. If it is not repealed God only knows what the consequences may be."

THOMAS NEWTON (1713-1794)

To the Hanburys, Oct. 25, 1765: "From the present appearance the peace and quiet of the country depend upon a repeal of the act."

To Jos. Roberts, Oct. 25, 1765, he wrote that Virginia had been thrown into "the utmost confusion, every evil that can be apprehended is to be dreaded from the present temper and disposition of the people in opposition to this Act of Parliament, when they find they can thus avoid the payment of one tax they may probably plead and exemption from all".

To Col. Ludwell, again, Nov. 16, 1765, "To give you a detail of affairs, to describe the present unhappy situation of our country would fill you, as it has and does me with the most melancholy reflections. To consider the best order'd Cotaury and the most loyal People arise in opposition to an act of Parl't. and force Mr. Mercer, the distributor of stamps to resign his office; to see the courts of justice shut up and confusion gaining ground, is the light in which you must view our unhappy Country; when the laws have lost their force every evil that can be apprehanded is to be dreaded. I pray to God to avert the danger that threatens and from his goodness to remove our confusion and restore the order of a just and free, tho dependent Government. Public distress naturally produces private misfortunes; it is impossible for the most cautious, the prudentest man alive to be prepared and properly guarded to avoid them".

To John Roberts, Dec. 16, 1765, "The opposition to the Stamp Act is not in the least abated, the Infatuation is spread quite through the Continent and the People seem ripe for any mischief".

Col. Corbin played no conspicuous part in the next ten years; but at the last moment tried to reconcile the Governor, Lord Dunmore, and the revolting Virginians.

On June 25, 1775, Lord Dunmore left Williamsburg and took refuge on an English ship. He wrote to Col. Corbin as follows:

"To the Hon'ble Richard Corbin at Laneville
Off Norfolk on Board the William
7 Feb. 5th 1775

Dear Sir:

A few days ago I received yours of the 10th Ulto. informing me that not withstanding your private Business required you present at Home (England), yet you did not choose to go, fearing it might not be agreeable to some of your Countrymen in their present mode of thinking, but that you had requested your friend to mention your situation to the Convention at Richmond, and that you find it agreeable to them that you should go home; I am sure if that is the Case, and you are still of the opinion that your private Business requires your presence, I know of nothing that need detain you a single moment here, on the contrary I think if there is but a chance that your going

can be of the smallest service to this your native land, nothing ought to prevent you, and if my concurrence is necessary, you have it with all my heart, and from my Soul wishing that you could be the means of reconciling these very unfortunate difference between two Countries, and wishing most sincerely that on your return you may find this at present unhappy and most wretchedly deluded Country, in the full exercise of its late happy constitution & Government, which I know is your sincere wish, & must be of every real well wisher to His Country, but can be of none more than of your.

Most obt. & very Hble. Servt.,

Dunmore".

On Jan. 22, 1776, from on board the *Dunmore* Lord Dunmore again wrote to Corbin urging him to use his efforts for a reconciliation. With the consent of the Convention, Corbin went aboard Dunmore's ship; but nothing came of the interview. During the rest of his life he lived in retirement at home. Though some of his sons were in trouble on account of their loyalty (or Toryism) Col. Corbin was never molested.

His high character is shown by what his contemporaries said of him. Ralph Wormeley (another loyalist), writing in 1783 to Charles James Fox, said, "Richard Corbin was one of the Kings Council and his Majesty's Receiver General of Quit Rents, as faithful a servant as the crown ever had, he is or rather was, under the former Government, a man of fortune, influence, and family".

His son Francis Corbin, writing to Tench Coxe, of Philadelphia in April 1815, says, "After the departure of Lord Dunmore, the King *mero motu*, appointed my father Governor of Virginia, but when he received the commission it was too late for his concilcatory wisdom to do anything." In the same letter he speaks of an interview with General Washington in 1783, when the latter asked after his father. Washington asked him, "How was his worthy old friend his father," and when told he was well said, "I am glad to hear it; he is a worthy man and one of the best friends I have ever had." Farther on Francis Corbin describes his presentation at Court. The King asked him when he had heard from his father, and added, "I hope he is well, he is a good man—a good one—the best subject I ever had in America". The same writer also says that Dr. Franklin, who personally knew his father, said, "He was one of the wisest men we had".

Richard Corbin married Elizabeth, daughter of John Tayloe, of "Mt. Airy", Richmond County. The *Virginia Gazette*, July 29, 1737, contained a notice: "Mr. Richard Corbin, eldest son of Col. Gawin Corbin, was lately married to Miss Betty Tayloe, daughter of Hon. John Tayloe, of his Majesty's Council of this Colony". John Tayloe in his will dated Jan. 3, 1744, gave his daughter Betty Corbin, £350 sterling, which,

AMY HUTCHINGS, WIFE OF THOMAS NEWTON.

THOMAS NEWTON (1742-1807)

with what he had already given her would make her portion £2000 sterling. He also gave her and his son-in-law Richard Corbin, £200 sterling additional.

Richard and Elizabeth (Tayloe) Corbin had issue:

16. Gawin, of whom later
17. John Tayloe, of whom later
18. Richard, born 1751, living 1783, died unmarried;
19. Thomas of "Laneville" born 1755, living 1783, died unmarried. Ralph Wormeley, writing, Aug. 1783, to Charles James Fox, says that Mr. Thomas Corbin will deliver his letter. He (Corbin) has been in Britain the past five years and in the army. He returned to Virginia in 1783 and was again compelled to leave the country. It is believed he came back in a year or two.
20. Francis, of whom later
21. Elizabeth, married (his 2nd wife) Carter Braxton, of "Newington", King and Queen County, Signer of the Declaration of Independence. On June 18, 1760, Richard Corbin writing to the Hanburys, of London, stated that he would draw on them for £1000 sterling, payable to Mr. Carter Braxton, as his daughter's marriage portion.
22. Alice, living 1783, died unmarried. She was the "Miss Alice Corbin", a friend of the young Thomas Jefferson, who is several times referred to in his letters.
23. Letitia, living, unmarried, 1783.

(To be continued)

NEWTON OF NORFOLK.

(Continued)

Children:

6. Elizabeth[3] born July 22, 1707, married ——— Benbow, and lived in London, England.
7. George[3], born Feb. 26, 1712; died May 17, 1719.
8. *Thomas*,[3] born March 14, 1713; died Dec. 13, 1794; married Amy, daughter of Col. John Hutchings.
9. Lemuel[3], born June 22, 1715; died in infancy.
10. Wilson[3], born April 9, 1718, died in 1763; married Rebecca Elligood. Wilson Newton was mayor of Norfolk in 1751 and 1760. The following is an abstract of his will: Will of Wilson Newton of the Borough of Norfolk, Merchant, dated 27 Aug., and proved 18 Nov., 1763. To wife Rebecca for life

choice of two lots left by his father's will; to son George the above lot after wife's death and all the 600 acres on the South Branch of Elizabeth River; the land on which I live to be rented out towards bringing up children for 8 years, and then to go to four daughters Frances, Rebecca, Ann an Elizabeth; to wife, son George and four daughters land S. E. of Main road containing 300 acres; to wife 8 slaves, horse and riding chair, household furniture and plate; to daughter Frances 3 slaves, to daughter Rebecca 2 slaves, to daughter Ann 2 slaves, to daughter Elizabeth 3 slaves; son George 3 negroes and watch and gun; wife, son & 4 daughters residuary legatees; wife, brother Thos. Newton, nephew Thos. Newton, Jr. and friend Mr. Chas Smith, Executors. Witnesses: John Phripp, Jr., Lem[l] Willoughby, Jacob Ellegood and James Holt.

The will of Mrs. Rebecca Newton was proved Feb. 7, 1779, in Princess Anne Co. She names the children as in her husband's will, and also her son-in-law, Bassett Moseley.

Children:

(a) George[4]; (b) Frances[4]; (c) Rebecca[4], married Bassett Moseley; (d) Ann[4], probably married Jonathan Calvert; (e) Elizabeth[4].

11. Ann[3] born Feb. 17, 1721, died April, 1749; probably married ——— Cook.
12. George[3], born March 4, 1722, lost at sea.
13. William[3], born Dec. 7, 1726, impressed on board a British man of war and never heard of afterwards.
14. Frances[3], born Feb. 24, 1729, married Paul Loyall, of Norfolk, and died about 1792.

8. Thomas[3] Newton, of Norfolk, was born March 14, 1713, and died Dec. 13, 1794. He married Amy, daughter of Col. John Hutchings, of Norfolk.

Thomas Newton was probably educated at William and Mary College, and became a man of prominence in his community. He was mayor of Norfolk in 1747 and member of the "Association" of Merchants, Burgesses and others which met in Williamsburg in 1770. Mr. Newton took a less active part in political affairs than most of the early members of his family.

He married Amy, daughter of Col. John Hutchings of Norfolk, and had five children all of whom died in infancy except his son Thomas.

Her will is of record.

Issue:

15. *Thomas*[4], born May 15, 1742, died Sept. 11, 1807; married, Oct. 7, 1767, Martha Tucker.

MARTHA TUCKER, WIFE OF THOMAS NEWTON.

15. Col. Thomas[4] Newton, Jr., of Norfolk, born May 15, 1742, died Sept. 11, 1807; married, Oct. 7, 1767, Martha, daughter of Robert Tucker of Norfolk.

Col. Thomas Newton, Jr. (as he was called from his rank in the militia), was long one of the leading men of Virginia. He was a member of the House of Burgesses for Norfolk Co. at the session of Oct., 1765; Nov., 1766; March, 1767; March, 1768; May, 1769; Nov., 1769; May, 1770; July, 1771; Feb., 1772; March, 1773; May, 1774, and June, 1775, and also of the Conventions of March, July and December, 1775, and May, 1776. He actively espoused the American side from the beginning of the Revolution and was a member of the Committee of Safety of Norfolk Borough in 1775-76.

During the Revolution Col. Newton was continuously in public service in various positions. He was (as appears from numerous letters from him in the Calendar of Va. State Papers) in command of the militia of Norfolk Borough, and in 1780 and 1781 was one of the commissioners of supplies. Especially valuable was his work in supplying the French fleet and army during the siege of York. He was also appointed one of the Commissioners of Admiralty in 1776, was a member of the House of Delegates for Norfolk in 1780, recorder of that place in 1798, and four times mayor, viz., 1780, 1786, 1792 and 1794. In September, 1781, he was appointed Colonel, commandant of the militia of Norfolk Co. There are so many letters from Col. Newton and his son Thomas to various governors printed in the *Calendar of Virginia State Papers* that it would almost seem that for years they were the representatives of the State government in Norfolk. It may be stated here that it is almost impossible, at times, to tell from the printed copies whether they are from father or son.

Children:

16. *Thomas*[5], born in Norfolk, Nov. 21, 1768, died Oct. 7, 1847; married (1st) Mrs. Myers, a widow, of Barbadoes; (2d) Mrs. Margaret Pool, widow of Howard Pool, and daughter of Benjamin Jordan.
17. Robert Tucker[5], born Aug. 13, 1771, died in infancy.
18. Amy[5], born June 1, 1775, died Dec. 15, 1840; married Thomas Blanchard and removed to La.
19. Sarah[5], born Dec. 11, 1776, in Southampton Co.; married James Taylor.
20. Martha Tucker[5], born in Surry Co., Nov. 11, 1780, died ——; married Theoderick Armistead.
21. Joanna Tucker[5], born Oct. 23, 1784, in Norfolk, died ——; married Wm. Armistead.

22. *George*[5], born in Norfolk, July 2, 1786, died ——; married Courtney Tucker, daughter of Daniel Norton of Norfolk, and afterwards of Winchester, Va.
23. Mary A.[5], born in Norfolk, Jan. 24, 1788, died July 28, 1826; married Col. Wm. Lindsay, U. S. A., and removed to Ga.
24. Caroline Eliza[5], born in Norfolk, July 7, 1790, died Sept. 30, 1793.
25. John Tucker[5], born July 7, 1792, died at the age of one month.

(To be continued)

REPORT

On the Proceedings

of the

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

for the Year 1920

Mr. Edward V. Valentine, Acting President of the Society, has requested the Corresponding Secretary and Librarian to prepare for publication in the Magazine an account of the work of the Society for the year 1920. At the annual meeting to be held early in 1922, the President will submit the report for 1921.

The outstanding event in the history of the Society during the late months of 1920 (and the beginning of 1921) was the very gratifying increase in our numbers.

In the latter part of the summer and the early fall of 1920 it became apparent that, on account of the extravagantly high cost of printing combined with increase of all other expenses, the Society faced a serious deficit. Our Society has passed through many vicissitudes, but it has never been (and it is hoped it never will be) a beggar. It was imperative that active measures be at once taken to increase our income. Very properly the routine work of keeping up the membership (as is the case in many other societies) has been left largely to the one salaried officer, the Corresponding Secretary. Now, however, there was a crisis too great for the efforts of any one person. At a meeting of the Executive Committee it was determined that the officers, committee-members, and the members of the Society in general should be told our need and asked to use every effort to increase our membership.

This action met with a general response. Many members of the Society aided, but the greatest credit for the good work is due to three gentlemen, Mr. Fairfax Harrison, of Belvoir, Fauquier County; Mr. Lucien Cocke, of Roanoke, and Mr. J. Jordan Leake, of Richmond. It is not to much to say that the work of these three men alone saved the Society from a very serious situation.

In January 1920, our membership was 702. In January 1921, after making deductions for deaths, resignations and delinquents dropped for non-payment of dues, it numbered 985; by far the largest membership in our history. And though it is part of the history of the next year, it would be withholding too good news not to state that during 1921, 169 more members were added—with one of the smallest lists of deaths and resignations we have had to record. But the details of 1921 are for a later report.

This great increase of membership enables us to carry on all our usual activities; but the abnormally high cost of printing—the only industry in which there has been no reduction in prices—still renders economy and care necessary in the management of our affairs. The Treasurer's annual report, which is always submitted as part of the President's report is as follows:

THE TREASURER'S REPORT.

December 12, 1921.

The report for the fiscal year ending November 30th, 1920, is herewith submitted. That for the succeeding year will be presented at the next annual meeting.

It may be worth noting, for the information of our many new members, that the Treasurer makes monthly reports to the Executive Committee, and that the report on the Permanent Endowment Fund is of the date of the Treasurer's report.

Balance in Bank, December 1, 1919..... $ 409.44

RECEIPTS.

Annual Dues	$2,936.00
Life Members	100.00
Interest	798.25
Sale of Magazines	394.60
Sale of Publications	45.00
Gifts to Permanent Fund	3,000.00

Freight and Express on Statue, refunded by W. D. Judkins	224.10	
Advertising	10.00	
From Savings Bank	2,500.00	
Gift from Mrs. C. L. Pillsbury	25.00	
		10,032.95
		$10,442.39

DISBURSEMENTS.

Salaries	$1,417.50	
Wages	395.00	
Sundry Bills	352.54	
Postage and Express	113.57	
Insurance	117.00	
Job Printing	50.00	
To Permanent Fund	5,000.00	
Checks Returned and Discount	21.10	
Coal	89.00	
Repairs	164.25	
Express, Freight, &c., on Statue	253.98	
Magazine	1,624.47	
		9,598.41
Balance in Bank, November 30, 1920		843.08
		$ 10,442.39

PERMANENT FUND.

(December 12, 1921)

34 shares of stock in the Citizens Bank of Norfolk, Va., 12% dividends, estimated value	$ 7,480.00
U. S. Liberty Bonds (3½ and 4¼%)	1,600.00
Real estate, 6% mortgages, $1,000, $4,500, $2,000, $2,400	9,900.00
In Savings Bank	74.80
	$ 19,054.80

In accordance with an order of the Executive Committee, the Treasurer presents the following tabulated statement showing the sources from which the Permanent Fund is derived. What is termed the "Society's Fund" comprises the amount the Committee has been able to save from year to year out of the ordinary revenues of the Society.

The Virginia Sturdivant McCabe Fund, given by the President of the Society in loving memory of his granddaughter, Virginia Sturdivant McCabe, born February 1, 1906, died August 11, 1919	$ 500.00
The Jane Pleasants Harrison Osborne McCabe Fund, given by the President of the Society in loving memory of his wife, Jane Pleasants Harrison Osborne McCabe, who died November 22, 1912	500.00
The Edmund Osborne McCabe Fund, established in loving memory of Edmund Osborne McCabe (born February 22, 1868, died June 5, 1919), from a bequest left by his devoted mother, Jane Pleasants Osborne McCabe	500.00

The President W. Gordon McCabe Fund, a bequest from W. Gordon McCabe, President of this Society	1,000.00
The Mary Custis Lee Fund, a bequest from Miss Mary Custis Lee, daughter of General Robert E. Lee	2,000.00
Gift by a member of the Society	500.00
Daughters of the American Revolution Fund	100.00
Byam K. Stevens Fund, a gift of the late Byam K. Stevens of New York	750.00
Edward Wilson James Fund, bequest from Edward Wilson James, of Norfolk, Va.	5,717.22
Society's Fund	7,486.82
	$19,054.80

The increase of the Permanent Fund since the last report is $3,236.82, due to bequests of $1,000.00 from our late President, W. Gordon McCabe; $2,000.00 from Miss Mary Custis Lee, the last surviving child of General R. E. Lee, and to the increase in value of the bank stock held by the Society.

The receipts from ordinary sources of income were somewhat greater than in the preceding year; but the expenses were also greater. The cost of the magazine would have been much greater had we been able to publish more during the year.

Respectfully submitted,

R. A. LANCASTER, JR., *Treasurer.*

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The additions to the Library in books and pamphlets in 1920 numbered 521. The donors, to whom our thanks are due, were Dr. T. V. Brooke, G. E. Dwelly, Dr. A. H. Hord, J. G. B. Bullock, Judge Daniel Grinnan, W. W. Scott, Miss Evelyn P. Meriwether, Armistead C. Gordon, Mrs. W. Gordon McCabe, Samuel P. Avery, Dr. Fiske Kimball, Hon. A. J. Montague, Dr. J. F. Jameson, Edward M. McClellan, Shelton S. Fife, Miss Mildred L. Rutherford, Austin B. Keep, R. L. Preston, Hon. R. Walton Moore, Andres F. Ponte, Dr. C. W. Dabney, Dr. A. G. Brown, Jr., William H. Cobb, Rev. W. H. T. Squires, Edward R. Finch, Capt. A. E. Potts, U. S. A., Miss Jean Graham McAllister, Dr. Lyon G. Tyler, Dr. McGuire Newton, Transylvania College Library, Library of Congress, Library Committee of the Corporation of London, American Hellenic Society, University of Virginia, University of California, Royal Society of Canada, Illinois Centennial Commssion, Onandaga Historical Society, Michigan Historical Commission and the Virginia Society of Colonial Dames.

GIFTS.

1. From Mr. W. D. Judkins, of New York, formerly of Virginia, a copy, in reduced size, of Canova's Statue of Washington, formerly in the State House at Raleigh, N. C., where it was destroyed by fire. This copy, found at Lausanne, is given by Mr. Judkins as a memorial of his wife, the late Mrs. Kate Lee Holland Judkins, who was long a member of this Society.

In passage from Southampton, England, to Richmond, the statuette was, unfortunately badly broken; but has now been restored in a very gratifying way.

2. As a bequest from the late Roberdeau Buchanan (to be delivered after his wife's death) an oil portrait of Col. Isaac Roberdeau, U. S. Engineers, who ran the boundary line between the United States and Canada, and spent his latter days in Virginia.

3. From Dr. J. A. C. Chandler, President of William and Mary College, a photagraphic fac-simile of the Journal of the first General Assembly of Virginia, 1619.

4. From Mr. G. C. Callahan, Philadelphia, Pa., a very large collection of papers relating to the history and genealogy of the Eastern Shore of Virginia. These papers have been arranged in fifteen sections and a preliminary list made, but they will have to be more fully catalogued and arranged before they will be accessible to the public.

5. From the Hon. R. Walton Moore, Fairfax, Va., photographic copy of portrait of George Johnston, who seconded Patrick Henry's Resolution of 1765.

6. From Mr. H. P. Cook, Riichmond, a show-case and a number of framed photographs.

7. By bequest from Capt. Thomas H. Raines, U. S. A., formerly of Georgia, a large number of books, scrap-books. and manuscripts relating to Virginia families.

8. From the estate of Mrs. Elizabeth Henry Lyons, through Mr. Wm. Wirt Henry, Jr., the desk used by Mr. W. W. Henry and a number of pamphlets and manuscripts.

9. From Mr. Fairfax Harrison, Belvoir, Va., (a) photographic fac-simile of the 1683 printed copy of the grant for the Northern Neck, from the original in the Library of Congress; (b) photographic fac-simile of the 1736 Map of the Northern Neck, from the original in the Library of Congress.

10. From Mr. Henry P. Beck, Richmond, map of "Twenty Five Miles Around Richmond", by J. D. Hotchkiss.

The Magazine.

The unvoidable delay in the publication of several numbers of the Magazine was greatly regretted by the management of the Society. This delay was not due to lack of means for payment, for the shortage referred to would have come only in the beginning of 1921, nor to lack of preparation, for the "copy" was always ready on time. The delay was due in part to a long printers' strike and in part to the fact that our former printers (who were also our very good and helpful friends) were so tied up with contracts for railroad printing that every thing else had to be put aside. Our present printers have shown much interest in our work and energy in executing it and we feel sure we will have full advantage of any reduction in costs which they may be able to make.

The volume of the Magazine for 1920 was not completed until we issued the October number in April, 1921. All the numbers for 1921 have been issued and that with which this report is printed, is issued at the regular time.

The letters of Col. Wm. Byrd (1st) were completed in 1920. The Council and General Court Minutes ran through the year. We are glad to announce that it is the intention of the Virginia State Library to print the text of hese Minutes in full in one volume.

It has been well known that each year during the Colonial period there was sent to England rolls of the quit rents containing the amount owned by each landholder in Virginia (except in the Northern Neck where the quit rents were paid to the proprietors.) It would be supposed that a great number

of these rolls would be preserved; but in fact, only one, that for 1704, has come to light. We obtained a photostat copy of a copy made for the Library of Congress and have commenced publication of these rolls. All will be printed in our Magazine.

It is needless now to recapitulate the documents published in 1920. They are familiar to all our readers. Particular attention, however, should be called to the genealogies contributed by Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, of Baltimore. The families treated of have many descendents in the United States; but the chief interest of these contributions is that they are a series of detailed studies (marked by a scholarly research which often supplements and corrects any published in England) of a group of families which were among the founders of modern England and America.

The Corresponding Secretary and Librarian, desires to acknowledge the very valuable services rendered to the Society by our Assistant Secretary, Mrs. J. A. Johnston.

Necrology.

Life Members.

Mrs. Henry W. Hobson, New York, N. Y., (not previously reported).
Col. T. M. R. Talcott, Richmond, Va.

Annual Members.

Dr. B. P. Anderson, Colorado Springs, Colo., (died 1919).
Mrs. George Barnum, (Frances Courtney Baylor), Winchester, Va.
George Louis Beer, New York, N. Y.
Richard N. Brooke, Washington, D. C.
S. S. Brooke, Roanoke, Va. (not before reported).
Prof. W. G. Brown, Columbia, Mo.
Thomas P. Bryan, Richmond, Va.

Capt. John A. Coke, Richmond, Va.
Col. Charles E. Hasbrook, Richmond, Va.
P. H. Mayo, Richmond, Va.
Capt. W. Gordon McCabe, Richmond, Va.
John T. McGraw, Grafton, Va.
Rev. Randolph H. McKim, Washington, D. C.
Thomas M. Owen, Montgomery, Ala.
Mrs. Poitiaux Robinson, Richmond, Va.
Prof. James Schouler, Intervale, N. H.
Willis B. Smith, Petersburg, Va.
William H. White, Richmond, Va.
Mrs. Agnes D. Wight, Cockeysville, Md.

The Society has seldom had in one year a heavier loss. The list, containing twenty-one names, includes many men and women of distinction. Interesting notices could be made of each of them, but as this is impossible, only their names are given, together with an expression of our high regard for them all and our sincere regret for their loss.

After the death of President McCabe, the Executive Committee appointed the Vice-President, Edward V. Valentine, Acting President of the Society. A President will be chosen at the next annual meeting.

THE
VIRGINIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

VOL. XXX APRIL, 1922 NO. 2

PREFATORY NOTE

After careful consideration it has been determined to postpone the publication of documents and other regular features of the Magazine until the July number, and to make this number, published shortly before the date of the Virginia Historical Pageant, one which may be of special interest and value at that time.

This issue is complete in itself; it contains a number of portraits which it is believed all who are interested in Virginia will be glad to have grouped, an account by the Virginia Historical Pageant Association (with which this Society is in entire sympathy) of its history and its plans, and a number of papers which are popular in their nature, but which are the results of scholarly research.

The first of these, on "The Native Tribes of Virginia" is by Mr. David I Bushnell, Jr., of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Mr. Bushnell has long made a special study of his subject. The next paper is the admirable and learned address on "The First University in America," delivered by the late Capt. W. Gordon McCabe at Dutch Gap on May 31, 1911, at the unveiling of the commemorative monument erected by the Virginia Society of Colonial Dames. The inaccessibility of the place made it possible for only a small audience to be present, and as the address was not printed until the spring

of 1914, a short time before the World War obscured all other interests, it has never been known in the way it should be.

The third paper on "The Real Beginning of Democracy in America" (the Virginia Assembly of 1619) by Mary Newton Stanard, was first published in *The Southern Review,* of Ashville, N. C., and has several times been reprinted, including once in the Christmas (1920) supplement of the *North China News,* Shanghai.

The next paper is on "The Settlement of the Valley" by Mr. Charles E. Kemper, of Staunton. The readers of this Magazine do not need to be told that Mr. Kemper is the highest authority on the subject on which he writes.

The succeeding contribution is by Judge Lyman Chalkley, formerly of Staunton, and now of the University of Kentucky. His subject is "Before the Gates of the Wilderness Road". It treats of the settlement of Southwestern Virginia and is based on researches while compiling his well-known *Abstracts of Augusta County Records* (3 vols.). This paper has been published twice; we are glad to make it more accessible to Virginia readers.

In the final article, The Virginians on the Ohio and Mississippi in 1742, Mr. Fairfax Harrison gives for the first time, a clear and authoritative account of the very remarkable expedition of Howard, Salling and their party from the Valley of Virginia to New Orleans in 1742, and of Salling's equally remarkable escape from French captivity.

We desire to return thanks to the Virginia Society of Colonial Dames for permission to use the address presented by Capt. McCabe to them, and to the other contributors for preparing special articles or for permission to reprint.

The edition of this number of the Magazine has been increased and copies may be obtained from this Society or through book stores.

Some Virginia Portraits

WASHINGTON

JEFFERSON

MADISON

MARSHALL

LEE

JACKSON

JOHNSTON

STUART

MAURY

The General Assembly of the Commonwealth
of Virginia have caused this statue to be erected
as a monument of affection and gratitude to

GEORGE WASHINGTON

who, uniting to the endowments of a *Hero*
the virtues of the *Patriot* and exerting both
in establishing the liberties of his country
has rendered his name dear to his fellow citizens
and given to the world an immortal example
of true Glory.—Done in the year of

CHRIST

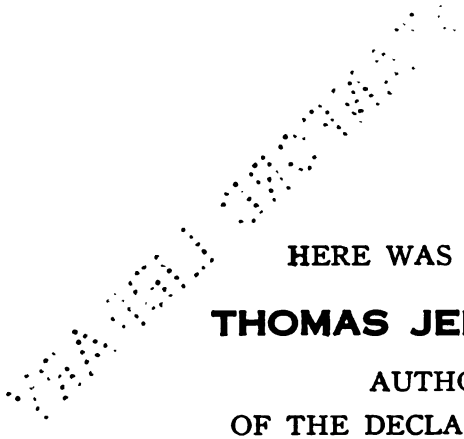
One thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight
and in the year of the Commonwealth the twelfth

The inscription on the pedestal of the Houdon statue.
(Written by James Madison)

GEORGE WASHINGTON

The Houdon Statue in the Capitol at Richmond

HARVARD LIBRARY

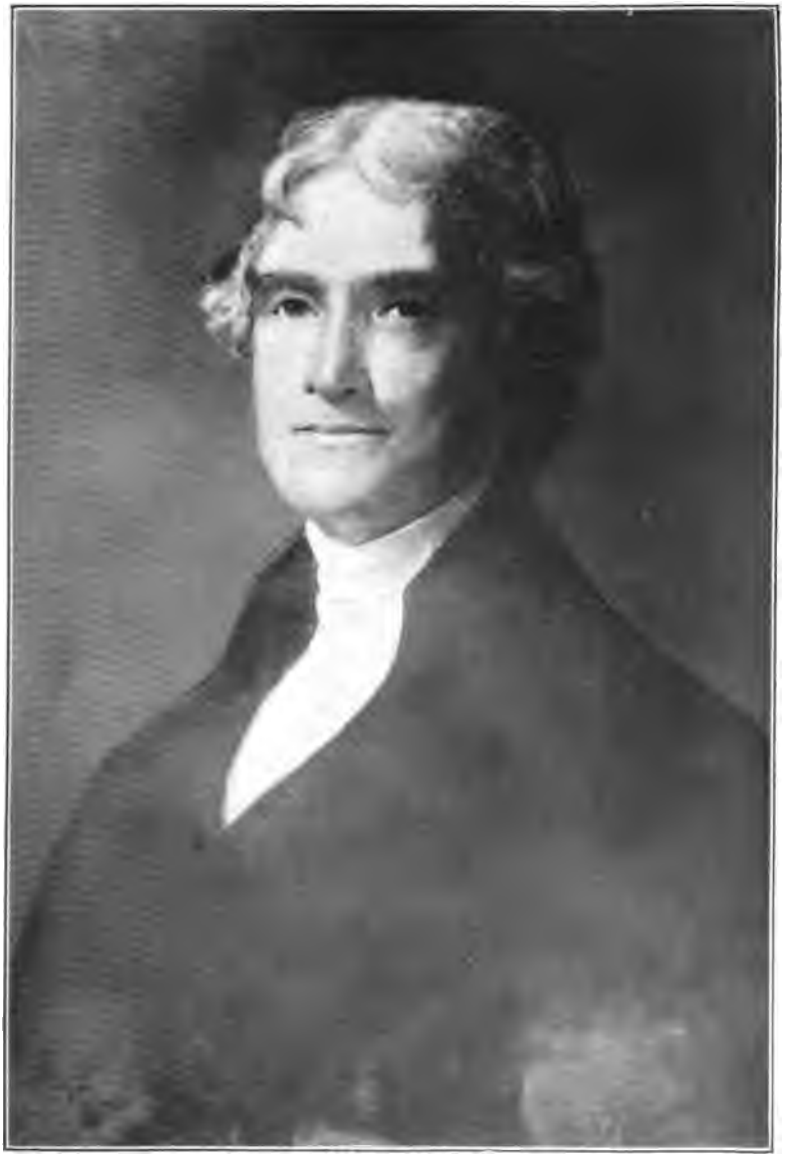


HERE WAS BURIED

THOMAS JEFFERSON

AUTHOR
OF THE DECLARATION OF
AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE
OF
THE STATUTE OF VIRGINIA
FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND
FATHER OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF VIRGINIA
BORN APRIL 2d
1743 O. S.
DIED JULY 4, 1826.

The epitaph at Monticello.



THOMAS JEFFERSON

From Portrait by Gilbert Stuart

JAMES MADISON
"FATHER OF THE CONSTITUTION"
BORN AT PORT CONWAY,
KING GEORGE COUNTY, VIRGINIA,
MARCH 5, 1751
DIED AT MONTPELIER,
ORANGE COUNTY, VIRGINIA,
JUNE 28, 1836

JAMES MADISON

From a photograph, in the collection of the Virginia Historical Society, of the Cerrachi bnst

JOHN MARSHALL
"EXPOUNDER OF THE CONSTITUTION"
BORN AT GERMANTOWN,
FAUQUIER COUNTY, VIRGINIA,
SEPTEMBER 4, 1753
DIED AT PHILADELPHIA, PA.,
JULY 6, 1835

JOHN MARSHALL

From portrait by Inman, Virginia State Library

ROBERT E. LEE

VIRGINIA CHOOSES HER LEADER*

Executive Department, April 22, 1861.

Gentlemen of the Convention:—I hereby nominate, and with your advice and consent, appoint Col. Robert E. Lee, to the office of Commander of the Military and Naval forces of the State of Virginia, with the rank of Major General. Talent, experience and devotion to the interests of Virginia, fit him in an eminent degree for the exalted position he is nominated to fill.

It affords me pleasure to assure you upon undoubted testimony, that his resignation as an officer of the Army of the United States, was determined upon, before the passage of your ordinance creating the office, which it is now proposed to fill. I trust the nomination will meet your approbation, and that it will be your pleasure to receive him in open Convention to-morrow.

Respectfully, John Letcher.

VIRGINIA CONVENTION, APRIL 23, 1861, RICHMOND.

Major General Lee entered, leaning on the arm of Mr. Johnson, of Richmond, chairman of the committee appointed to conduct the distinguished military chief to the Hall. As they reached the main aisle, Mr. Johnson said: "Mr. President, I have the honor to present to you and to the Convention, Major General Lee."

The President: "Major General Lee—In the name of the people of your native State, here represented, I bid you a cordial and heartfelt welcome to this Hall, in which we may almost yet hear the echo of the voices of the statesmen, the soldiers

* Copied immediately from the admirable "Memorial Day Annual, 1912," but, of course, originally from the proceedings of the Virginia Convention.

and sages of by-gone days, who have borne your name, and whose blood now flows in your veins.

We met in the month of February last, charged with the solemn duty of protecting the rights, the honor and the interests of the people of this Commonwealth. We differed for a time as to the best means of accomplishing that object; but there never was at any moment, a shade of difference amongst us as to the great object itself; and now, Virginia having taken her position, as far as the power of this Convention extends, we stand animated with one impulse, governed by one desire and one determination, and that is that she shall be defended; and that no spot of her soil shall be polluted by the foot of an invader.

When the necessity became apparent of having a leader for our forces, all hearts and all eyes, by the impulse of an instinct which is a surer guide than reason itself, turned to the old county of Westmoreland. We knew how prolific she had been in other days, of heroes and statesmen. We knew she had given birth to the Father of his Country; to Richard Henry Lee, to Monroe, and last, though not least, to your own gallant father, and we knew well by your own deeds, that her productive power was not yet exhausted.

Sir, we watched with the most profound and intense interest the triumphant march of the army led by General Scott, to which you were attached, from Vera Cruz to the Capital at Mexico; we read of the sanguinary conflicts and the blood-stained fields, in all of which victory perched upon our own banners; we knew of the unfading lustre that was shed upon the American arms by that campaign, that no small share of the glory of those achievements was due to your valor and your military genius.

Sir, one of the proudest recollections of my life will be the honor that I yesterday had of submitting to this body the confirmation of the nomination made by the Governor of this State, of you as Commander-in-Chief of the Military and Naval forces of this Commonwealth. I rose to put the question, and when I asked if this body would advise and consent to that appointment, there rushed from the hearts to the

tongues of all the members the affirmative response that told, with an emphasis that could leave no doubt of the feeling whence it emanated. I put the negative of the question for form's sake, but there was an unbroken silence.

Sir, we have, by this unanimous vote, expressed our convictions, that you are, this day, among the living citizens of Virginia, 'first in war.' We pray to God most fervently that you may so conduct the operations committed to your charge, that it will soon be said of you, that you are 'first in peace,' and when that time comes, you will have earned the still prouder distinction of being 'first in the hearts of your countrymen'.

I will close with one more remark—

When the Father of his Country made his last will and testament he gave his swords to his favorite nephews with an injunction that they should never be drawn from their scabbards, except in self-defence, or in defence of the rights and liberties of their county, and, if drawn for the latter purpose, they should fall with them in their hands, rather than relinquish them.

Yesterday, your mother, Virginia, placed her sword in your hand upon the implied condition that we know you will keep to the letter and in spirit, that you will draw it only in her defence, and that you will fall with it in your hand rather than the object for which it was placed there, shall fail."

Major General Lee responded as follows:

"Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:—Profoundly impressed with the solemnity of the occasion, for which I must say I was not prepared, I accept the position assigned me by your partiality. I would have much preferred had your choice fallen on an abler man.

Trusting in Almighty God, an approving conscience, and the aid of my fellow citizens, I devote myself to the service of my native State, in whose behalf alone, will I ever draw my sword."

GENERAL LEE ON TRAVELER

From photograph by Miley, Lexington, Va.

Near 3 P.M.
May 2d, 1863

General,

The enemy has made a stand at Chancellor's which is about 2 miles from Chancellorsville. I hope as soon as practicable to attack.

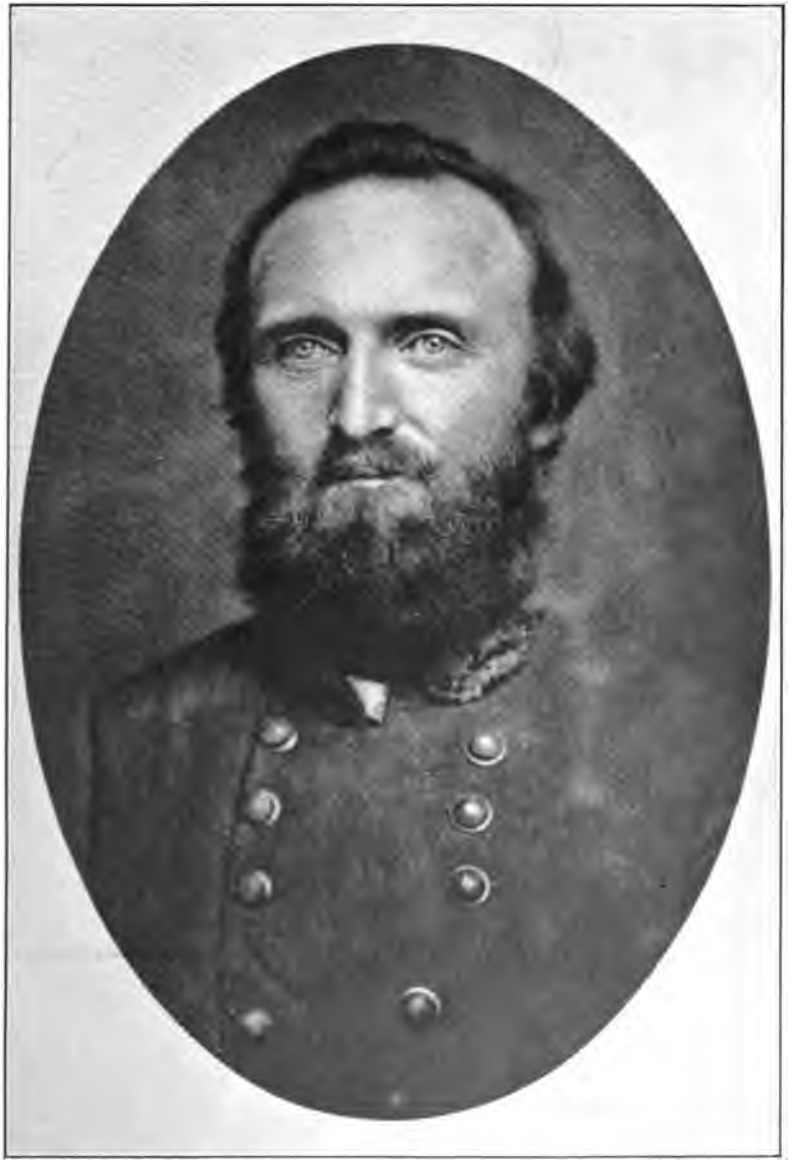
I trust that an even kind Providence will bless us with great success.

Respectfully
T. J. Jackson
Genl. R. E. Lee
H. Genl.

The leading decision is up & the next two appear to be well cloud.

T. J. J.

JACKSON'S LAST DISPATCH TO LEE (fac-simile)



THOMAS J. JACKSON

From the Winchester photograph

JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON
son of
Judge Peter & Mary Johnston of Va.,
born at
Longwood, Prince Edward Co., Va.,
February 3, 1807.
Died March 21, 1891.
Brigadier General, U. S. A.
General, C. S. A.

Epitaph

"His men, to whom he came as a stranger, were neither attached personally to their chief, like the Army of Virginia, nor improved in discipline to the same degree as their adversaries. . . . In all these points, therefore, he was at a striking disadvantage as regarded his opponent; yet, with these against him, and but with one-half the numbers of the Federals, he contrived to hold them back, led though they were with such versatile skill and unwearied energy as the records of modern war can hardly match, for nearly two months and a half in the advance which an active pedestrian could have made in as many days. Surely this is of itself a sufficient testimony to his powers of leadership. One day of faltering when halted, one hour of hesitation when it became necessary to fall back, might have brought instant ruin to him and to his army. . . . What he might have ventured had a rasher or less wary commander—such as Grant himself, for instance—been before him, is as impossible to say as it would be to declare what would have been the result to Lee had Sherman taken the place of Grant in Virginia. As things actually were disposed, it is not too much to declare that Johnston's doing what he did with the limited means at his command is a feat that should leave his name in the annals of defensive war at least as high as that of Fabius, or Turenne, or Moreau".

—Col. Chesney, in *Fortnightly Review*, Nov., 1875.

JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON

GENERAL LEE'S ORDER ANNOUNCING THE DEATH OF GENERAL STUART.

"Among the gallant soldiers who have fallen in the war, General Stuart was second to none in valor, in zeal, and in unflinching devotion to his country. His achievements form a conspicuous part of the history of this army, with which his name and services will be forever associated. To military capacity of a high order, he added the bright graces of a pure life guided and sustained by the Christian's faith and hope. The mysterious hand of an all-wise God has removed him from the scene of his usefulness and fame. His grateful countrymen will mourn his loss and cherish his memory. To his comrades in arms he has left the proud recollection of his deeds and the inspiring influence of his example."

J. E. B. Stuart

MATTHEW FONTAINE MAURY

"THE PATHFINDER OF THE SEAS"

Born in Spotsylvania County, Virginia,
January 14, 1806.
Died at Lexington, Virginia,
February 1, 1873.

"As the supreme hour drew near he said to his eldest son, Col. Richard L. Maury, who had been his constant and devoted nurse, 'Are my feet growing cold? Do I drag my anchors?' On being answered in the affirmative he faintly exclaimed 'All's well' ".—*Life of Matthew Fontaine Maury,* by Diana Fontaine Maury Corbin.

MATTHEW FONTAINE MAURY

THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL PAGEANT

To the Virginia Historical Society is due, in great measure, the inspiration, on the part of Virginians, to give a Pageant, depicting the glorious history of the "Founders of the Nation" and the "Mother of States."

Through the medium of this Magazine, and the Society's accumulation of a priceless collection of manuscripts bearing on the early struggles of the Colonists, their trials, failures and achievements; the descendants of those brave men and women who braved all to found a new home, aye! to establish a new nation on the Western Continent have awaken to the duty they owe themselves, as well as their forbears, to give to the world full knowledge of the material they possess. These forbears came—not as exiles fleeing from religious persecution, but volunteers, dreaming of self-government; of liberty. So much of this historical material is either unknown to the public at large, or have been so perverted by writers who, through ignorance, omission or commission, have broadcasted their narratives to the world, it has become essential, even were it not a labor of love, for Virginia to pay homage to those who have done so much toward the founding of the greatest republic of ancient or modern days.

The suggestion and tentative outline of a Historical Pageant was first offered by a member of the Virginia Historical Society, in February, 1916, and a draft of the programme was published in the Journal of the Richmond Chamber of Commerce in its issue of April following.

The Richmond Post of the Travelers Protective Association, endorsed the movement and appointed a committee with instructions to invite the co-operation of other city and State organizations looking toward the presentation of the Pageant.

The declaration of war against Germany made impossible any continued effort at that time, and the project was tempo-

rarily abandoned. The Committee of the T. P. A. was continued with instructions to await a more propitious time for renewal of the effort.

In the fall of 1920, Mr. Arthur James, of the John Marshall High School faculty wrote a letter, published in the Richmond Evening Dispatch, suggesting that the time had come for a Pageant to be given. This was followed by editorials in the Dispatch and the committee from the T. P. A. sent out letters to the various patriotic, fraternal and civic organizations in the city, requesting a joint conference of committees of five at the headquarters of the T. P. A. post.

After several meetings, at which nearly every organization invited was represented, the Virginia Historical Pageant Association was formed. It was decided that it would be impractical to hold the Pageant in 1921, and the week of May 22nd to 28th, 1922, was selected. Oliver J. Sands, President of the American National Bank, of Richmond, was elected President, and W. B. Cridlin, Secretary. Both of these gentlemen are members of the Virginia Historical Society.

The Secretary assumed office May 1, 1921, and opened his office at the T. P. A. Building, 3d and Main Streets. Membership tickets at one dollar each, were offered to the public, the first thousand to be enrolled as Charter Members. The Charter list was subscribed for within a short time, and regular memberships were enrolled up to the closing of the list on February 1st of this year. The funds raised in this way paid all the preliminary expenses of the Association, and enabled the Secretary to conduct an advertising campaign that has given publicity to the movement, not only in America, but several foreign countries as well.

Memberships were sold in England, France, Spain and China; in Mexico, Canada and nearly every State.

The slogan—"Carry Me Back to Old Virginia," has an appeal to Virginians, descendants of Virginians, and lovers of American History, wherever they may reside, and from the great volume of mail being received, the Association is assured of one of the greatest crowds of visitors the State has

ever been called upon to entertain. The people of Richmond and vicinity are making preparations to assure accommodations for all who come, and ample provisions are being made to eliminate profiteering. Committees and citizens will be ready to receive our guests with the hospitality for which Virginia has ever been noted.

The program for the week is as follows:

Program.

MONDAY—May 22nd—Coronation Parade, and Home-coming Day (First night performance of the "Pageant of Virginia.")

The "Pageant of Virginia" will be repeated each night during the week.

TUESDAY—Colonial Parade—Floats of the Period, entered from the counties and cities of the State.

WEDNESDAY—The Revolution and War of 1812—Floats of the Period.

THURSDAY—Confederate Day—Floats of the Period and Military, etc.

FRIDAY—Spanish-American and World War Day—Floats, Floral Parade.

SATURDAY—Greater Virginia Day—Historical and Commercial Floats.

On Friday, 26th, there will be an Old Virginia Tournament. This will be participated in by costumed Knights, representing every section of the State.

Balls.

Tuesday Night—Colonial Ball—Reception of the Queen of the Pageant.
Wednesday Night—Revolutionary Ball.
Thursday Night—Confederate Ball.
Friday Night—Tournament Ball.

Other entertainments will be given through the week, all of historic interest, such as a Regetta, Indian Canoe Races, etc.

The Pageant of Virginia is written and presented by Thomas Wood Stevens, the well-known writer of the Pageant of St. Louis, Pageant of Newark, and over thirty successful pageants, presented in America and Europe.

For information as to seats, etc., see advertisement, page facing back cover.

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THE NATIVE TRIBES OF VIRGINIA

By David I. Bushnell, Jr.

With the lapse of three centuries and more since the creation of the first permanent English settlement in North America, at "James Towne in Virginia," it is interesting to consider the appearance of the land at that time, and to compare the manners and ways of life of the native inhabitants with whom the colonists came in contact.

In the year 1607, long before the settlement of the later colony of Plymouth, the people of Jamestown were established in the midst of a great wilderness, claimed and occupied by many tribes who spoke several languages, and had customs differing from one another. On the banks of the streams stood the scattered villages of the Indians, who hunted in the vast forests which then covered the greater part of the region westward to the mountains. Beyond the mountains, that great natural barrier, lay a land of mystery.

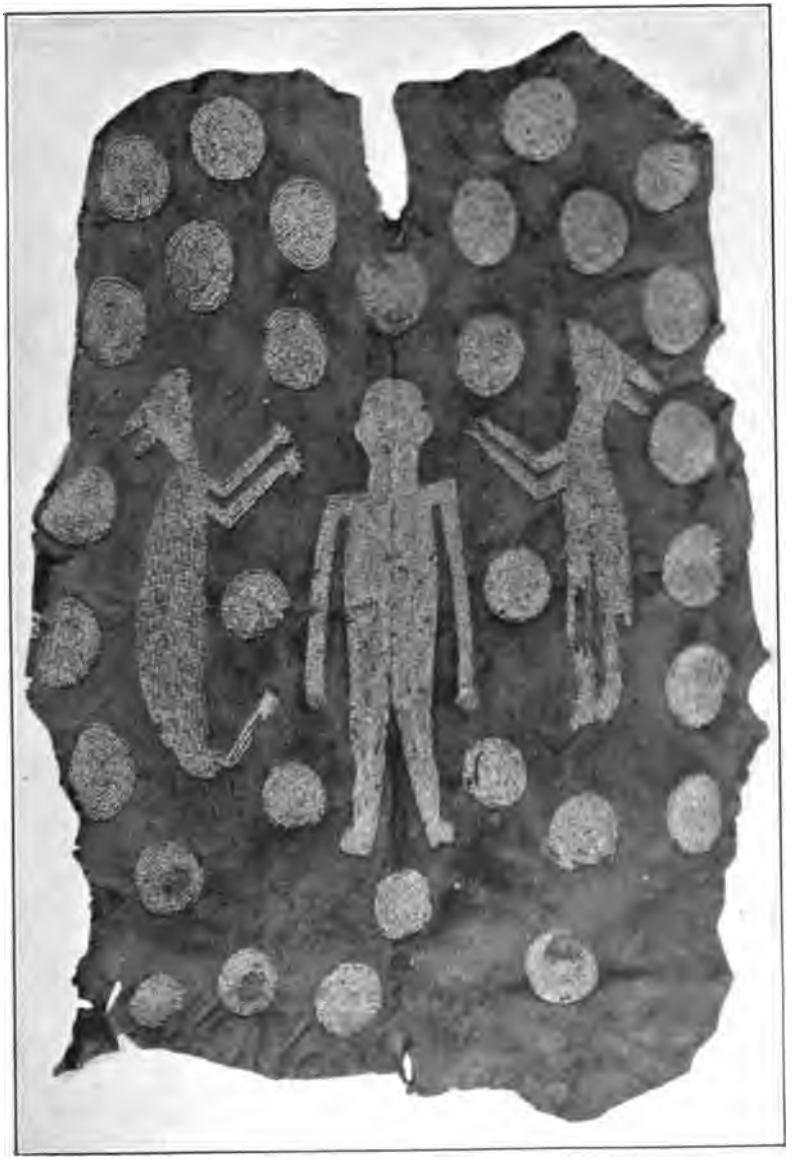
Between the sea and the mountains were three distinct groups of tribes, representing three linguistic stocks, the Algonquian, the Iroquoian, and the Siouan. To the first belonged the tribes which formed the Powhatan confederacy, tribes so often mentioned in the early annals of the colony. South of the James lived the Nottoway and Meherrin, belonging to the Iroquoian family, and westward in the piedmont section were the Siouan tribes, of whom the Saponi, the Tutelo, and those grouped as the Monacan confederacy, were the best known in history.

The native villages, as they stood when the country was first traversed by the colonists, consisted of clusters of mat and bark covered lodges. Many settlements were protected by encircling palisades, thus adding security against attacks

by the enemy and the prowling wild beast of the forest. On the map, which accompanies Captain Smith's History, some two hundred sites are indicated, and of these, about thirty are designated "Kings' Houses," this referring to a village where a recognized chief resided, the others being of less importance, possibly hunting or fishing camps belonging to the people of the larger villages.

Although no early pictures of the habitations of the Virginia Indians are known to exist, the descriptions of the various structures, as recorded by the several historians of the Colony, are clear and concise, and it is possible to form a conception of the appearance of a characteristic settlement. But in addition to the early descriptions, we are fortunate in having the water color drawings made by the artist, John White, who accompanied the second expedition sent by Sir Walter Raleigh, during the year 1585. White, "an Englisch Paynter who was sent into the contrye by the queenes Maiestye, onlye to draw the description of the place, lyuely to describe the shapes of the Inhabitants, their apparell, manners of Livinge, and fashions, att the speciall Charges of the worthy knighte, Sir Walter Raleigh," made a large number of water color sketches which are now preserved in the British Museum, London. These, however, depict the manners and customs of the Algonquian tribes then occupying the northeastern portion of North Carolina, two of whose villages, Secotan and Pomeioc are beautifully shown, but these did not differ from the settlements of the neighboring tribes then living northward, in the present Virginia. Kecoughtan, the second of the native villages seen by the colonists in 1607, stood on the site of the present Hampton, and at that time "conteineth eighteene houses, pleasantly seated upon three acres of ground, uppon a plain, half invironed with a great Bay of the great River," and this was probably a typical settlement, resembling many others scattered along the banks of the rivers which flowed into Chesapeake Bay.

The structures did not differ greatly in appearance, and the greatest difference was probably in size and neatness with which they had been constructed. A frame was first erected, later to be covered with mats or strips of bark. The tops



"POHATAN, KING OF VIRGINIA'S HABIT"

(In the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)

were rounded and merged into the side walls. The ends appear to have been mostly flat, with an opening which served as a door. In the top was a small open space through which smoke would pass from the fire, which was kindled on the ground inside the lodge. Frames, supported by posts about a foot above the ground, and extending along both sides of the lodge, were covered with mats and skins and served as beds. Small gardens often surrounded the habitations and here were raised several sorts of vegetables for food, and also tobacco.

As was the custom throughout the land, the Indians of Virginia did not remain in their more permanent villages the entire year, but only during certain seasons. A quaintly worded account of their wanderings tells how "In March and Aprill they live much upon their weeres, and feed on fish, turkies, and squirrells, and then, as also sometymes in May, they plant their fields and sett their corne. * * * In the tyme of their huntings, they leave their habitations, and gather themselves into companyes * * * and goe to the most desart places with their families, where they passe the tyme with hunting and fowling up towards the mountaines, the heads of their rivers, wher in deed there is plentye of game. * * * Theire huntinge howses are not soe laboured, substancyall, nor artyficall as their other." This referred to the more temporary shelters, erected by the wandering families when away from their villages.

During the distant journeys away from the settlements near the coast, journeys which may have extended to or beyond the borders of the territory of the Monacan confederacy, it is probable a vast amount of game was killed to serve as food, and many skins were secured.

The food, undoubtedly easily secured by the people of tidewater Virginia, thus consisted of fish, quantities of oysters taken from the beds along the shores of Chesapeake, or up the various rivers, game and wild fowl which abounded, and the products of their gardens, of which corn was the most important. Food was prepared by roasting, or boiling in large earthen pots, many fragments of which are now to be found scattered over the surface where an ancient village once stood.

So important was the corn that platforms were often erected in the midst of the fields upon which one would remain to guard the growing grain, and to protect it from birds and beasts.

The dress and personal decoration of the Indians of Virginia during the early years of the seventeenth century, especially of those with whom the colonists first came in contact, probably was similar in every respect to the customs followed by the tribes living southward on the coast as portrayed by John White a few years before. Simple garments of skins or woven fiber, with moccasins of buckskin. Parts of the body were painted or tattooed, feathers were worn attached to the hair, and quantities of shell beads and others of copper and bone, were made and used. Small plates of copper, as indicated on a drawing by White, were worn suspended from bead necklaces. The source of the native supply of copper was evidently near the southern boundary of the present Virginia, some miles south of the center of the infant colony, and the existence of the mines was mentioned in the *Instructions, Orders and Constitutions by way of Advise set downe, declared and propounded to Sir. Tho. Gates, Knight Governour of Virginia,* when he left England in 1609. The document is now in the British Museum (MS. vol. 21993, fol. 178 et seq.) and contains much interesting and valuable information. From it the following may be made:

"Four dayes Journey from your forte Southerward is a town called *Ononahorne,* seated where the river *Choanock* divideth itself into three branches and falleth into the sea of *Rawnocke* in thirty-five degrees. * * * If you make your principall and choise seate you shall doe most safely and richly because you are in the heart of Lands open to the south and two of the best rivers will supply you, besides you are neare to with Copper mines of *Ritane* and may passe them by one branch of the river, and by another *Peccarecamicke* where you shall finde four of the Englishe alsoe, lost by Sir Walter Raweley, which escaped from the slaughter of Powhatan of Roanocke upon the first arivall of our Colony and live under the protection of a *wiroano* call'd Sepanocan enemy to Powhatan, by whose consent you shall never receive

"VIRGINIAN PURSE" in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

(The left hand figure shows the detail, full size)

them, one of these were worth much laboar and if you finde them not, yet search into this contrey it is more probable than towardes the North."

Of the many and varied objects from the American colonies, now preserved in the older collections in Europe, one of the greatest interest is in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. It once belonged to John Tradescant, who died about 1638. In the catalogue of the collection, the *Museum Tradescantianum,* printed in London during the year 1656, this remarkable piece is described as: "*Pohatan,* King of Virginia's habit" all embroidered with shells, or Roanoke. A photograph of this is reproduced in Fig. 1. It is made of several pieces of tanned deer skin and measures more than seven and one-half feet in height and five feet in width. It is decorated with small sea shells, *Marginella nivosa,* attached by means of a fine thread of sinew which passes through an artificial perforation. It is quite probable this ancient piece of native work once belonged to the great Chief, whose name was so often mentioned in the annals of the colony, and may have been one of the objects presented to Captain Newport in September, 1608.*

Another remarkable piece is described in the old catalogue as "Virginia purses imbroidered with Roanoake," and fortunately it has survived the three centuries and more since it was made and is now in the Ashmolean collection. A photograph of the entire object, together with a detail showing the the exact size of the beads, is reproduced in Figure 2. The length of the bag proper, which is made of buckskin, is eleven

* *The Proceedings of the English Colonie in Virginia,* Smith, (Arber ed. I, 125) "All things being fit for the day of his coronation, the presents were brought, his bason, bed and furniture set up: [and] his scarlet cloake and apparel (with much adoe) put on him (being persuaded by *Namontacke* they would do him no hurt). But a fowle trouble there was to make him kneele to receave his crowne. He, neither knowing the majesty nor meaning of a Crowne, nor bending of the knee, indured so many perswasions, examples, and instructions, as tired them all. At last, by leaning hard on his shoulders, he a little stooped, and *Newport* put the Crowne on his head; when, by the warning of a pistoll, the boates were prepared with such a volley of shot, that the king start[ed] up in a horrible feare, till he saw all was well. Then remembering himselfe, to congratulate their kindnesse, he gave his old shoes and his mantle to Captain *Newport.*"

and one-half inches, but the extreme length of the entire specimen is more than thirty-one inches. Across the lower or closed end of the bag are two parallel rows of small shells, *Marginella nivosa,* prepared and attached as were some shells on the "habit." Extending from the two sides of the opening of the bag are pieces of beadwork, shell beads of native origin, which were strung on two threads of sinew one of which passed on either side of a narrow strip of buckskin. Similar bits of work were attached to the lower end of the pouch. This is the oldest example of beadwork of the North American Indians known to exist, and consequently is of the greatest interest.

The native people of tidewater Virginia appear to have been quite skillful in the fashioning of implements and ornaments of the available materials. They made use of baskets and earthenware of their own manufacture, and many fragments of the latter are now encountered but not a single example of their baskets is known to exist. Large weirs were constructed a short distance from the shore and by this means they secured an ample supply of fish. They made and used very long bows, three of which are now in the Ashmolean Museum, and are now shown in Figure 3, on the left, while on the right is a reproduction of one of the water color drawings made by White during the summer of 1585, portraying an Indian of Carolina holding a similar weapon. Canoes were made of large logs, burned and scraped into the desired shape.

Games and dances of various kinds were known, several are shown in certain of White's drawings.

The burial customs were described by the early historians of the colony, and it is evident they had two distinct methods of disposing of the dead. The bodies of the more important individuals were dried after certain organs were removed, then decorated with beads and other ornaments and carefully wrapped in skins and mats. After being so prepared they were placed in the temple-tomb, where they were guarded by men chosen for the purpose. Every town of importance had a temple-tomb and, according to Smith, the most famed structure was "at *Vttamussack* at *Pamaunke,* neare into which is a house Temple or place of *Powhatans.* Upon the top of

(Left) THREE BOWS FROM VIRGINIA, in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. (Right) DRAWING MADE BY JOHN WHITE, 1585

certaine redde sandys hils in the woods, there are 3 great houses filled with images of their kings and Divels and Tombes of their Predecessors. Those houses are neare 60 foot in length, built arbor wise, after their buildings." But although so much ceremony attended the burial of some members of the tribes, others, and probably the great majority, found their last resting place in the form of a shallow pit, into which the body was lowered. And to again quote from the same account, "The buriall ended, the women being painted all their faces with black cole and oile, doe sit 24 howers in the houses mourning and lamenting by turnes, with such yelling and howling as may express their great passions."

Although the Indians were very superstitious and had many strange and curious beliefs, it is evident the early settlers, in some instances, were scarcely less credulous. This was clearly shown in a letter written from *"James Towne in Virginia this 9th of August, 1611,"* by the Reverend Alexander Whitaker, the original of which is now in the British Museum (MS. vol. 21993, fol. 193.) Part of this quaintly worded communication follows:

"Good Mr. Crashaw you heard by my last two how prosperous a journey I had hither and must now again send you words how God hath continued his goodness to wards mee and preserved me safe hitherto with great hope of good succedd to our purpose.

"It is needless that I should write unto you every particular of our doeings. * * * but I will acquaint you with one thinge which may be worth your consideration and wherein I desire to know your opinions.

"Our governour, Sir Thomas Dale, pretended an expedition to a place call'd the fals, 7 or 8 dayes before his going the king of the Indians, *Powhatan,* by his Messenger forbidds him those quarters and demaindes of them 2 Indian Prisoners which hee had taken of them otherwise he threatened to destroy us after a strange manner. First hee said hee would make us dumbe and then kill us, and for a mere solemnity gave us six or seaven dayes respite. Sir Thomas was very merry at this message and returned them with the like answer.

"Shortly after without any deliverance of the prisoners hee went armed to the falls, where one night our men being at praiers in the Court of guard, a strainge noise was heard comeing out of the Corne towards the trenches of our men, like an Indian hup hup and Oho Oho, some say that they saw one like an Indian leape over the fire and runne into the corne with the same noyse. All the while all our men were confusedly amazed. They could speake nothing but Oho Oho, and all generally taking the wronge endes of their armes beganne the Thebans warre against Cadmus. * * *

"An other accident fell out in a march up *Nan sam und* river, as our men pass'd by one of Their Townes, their yssued out of the shoare a mad crew dantsinge like Anticks as our Morris Dansers before whome their went a *Quiockosite* (or their Preist) to send smoake and flame out of a thing like a Censer. An Indian (by name) *Munchumps* amongst our men seeing this dance toulde us that there would be verry much raine within 5 miles and so further of but not so much there as make their powder dancke. Many such Casualtys happen as that the principall amongst them being bound with stronge lyne and kept with great watch have escaped from us out our knowledge or prevention. All which things make me thinke that theire bee great witches amonge them and they are verry familliar with the Devill."

Such were the manners and customs of the Indians of tidewater Virginia three centuries ago, but unfortunately we know far less regarding the habits of the Monacan who occupied the country from near the falls of the Appomattox and the James westward to the mountains. One of their chief towns, Rasawek, stood at the junction of the James and Rivanna, in Fluvanna County, but no early description of their habitations is known to have been preserved.

Traces of the Ancient Sites.

Having briefly described the habits of the Indians of Virginia during the early years of the seventeenth century, it will now be of interest to refer to the existing remains of the

ancient villages and other traces of the work of the native inhabitants of the country.

At the present time there are to be found on the banks of many streams in tidewater Virginia, masses of oyster shells, rapidly decaying, which serve to indicate the sites of long deserted settlements. Many of these correspond with the positions of certain villages shown on the old map attributed to Captain John Smith, and scattered over the surface may often be discovered bits of pottery, chips of stone and implements of that material, some fractured, other entire. All objects of a perishable nature have necessarily disappeared, however it is not difficult to visualize the clusters of bark covered lodges which stood so long ago, with the canoes drawn up on the shore, and with the people of the village grouped about, following their simple pursuits or amusements.

Very few burial places of the people of the Algonquian tribes have been discovered in Virginia, but this may be easily explained by recalling the customs of the people and considering the time which had elapsed since the old villages were occupied.

Many names applied by the Indians to the streams and villages have been preserved, many remain in use at the present time and it is quite probable that in no other part of eastern United States of equal area are Indian place names more numerous, names which date their origin from the days before the coming of the first colonist.

Many village sites and burial places have been encountered in the country of the Monacan, extending westward from the falls, all of which should probably be attributed to the Siouan tribes. But the burial places differed from those further east. The Siouan people evidently had several distinct ceremonies following the death of one of their number, and in this respect may have resembled the Choctaw. Although no record has been preserved of the earlier ceremonies, nevertheless it is quite probable the body was first placed on a scaffold, or in a structure similar to the "bone houses" of the Southern tribes, and later the remains were deposited on the surface of the ground and covered with earth. In time other deposits of bones and other masses of earth, until eventually a mound

many feet in height would result. Such was the great burial mound which formerly stood on the right bank of the Rivanna, due north of the present University of Virginia, which was opened and described by Jefferson. The surface of the ancient village, on which are to be found traces of the fire-beds, fragments of the utensils and implements of the people who once lived here, is now covered with more than two feet of sand and alluvium deposited by the waters of the Rivanna. Other mounds similar to this have been discovered in the piedmont country, and it may be of interest to state that the allusion to "Indian graves," in certain old documents, usually referred to burials of this sort and not to individual graves as might be supposed.

Indian Map of Virginia.

All traces of the period of Indian occupancy are rapidly disappearing and within a few years little will remain. The cultivation of the soil, the expansion of the towns and cities, and the construction of new roads, tend to hasten the destruction of the few remaining signs of the old sites. Realizing this condition the Virginia Historical Society is now accumulating data to be used in preparing a map of the State, on which it is intended to indicate all villages, burial places, mines and quarries, trails and fording places, known to have been the work of or used by the Indian tribes of Virginia. Such a publication will prove of inestimable value to the future historian, and as it is especially the intention to preserve the Indian names of the streams and villages, this will justly be termed the Indian Map of Virginia. Members of the Society and all others who know of local sites, or local place names which should be mentioned on the map, are asked to forward such information to the Secretary of the Society.

PRINCE HENRY

THE FIRST UNIVERSITY IN AMERICA 1619-1622

An Address Delivered by W. Gordon McCabe, President of The Virginia Historical Society, at Dutch Gap on James River, May 31, 1911, on the Occasion of the Unveiling of a Monument by the "Colonial Dames of America in the State of Virginia," to Commemorate the Founding of the First College and University in America.

About this historic spot, where we gather today to commemorate a great and beneficent enterprise, which yet failed of fruition because of a sudden stroke of adverse fate—all of us still eager, despite the lapse of well nigh three centuries, to yield becoming meed of admiration and abiding reverence for the enlightened and gallant spirits who conceived this enterprise in wisdom and fostered it with noble generosity—cluster countless memories that must stir the blood of every Virginian "to the manner born"—memories of endurance stern, and splendid constancy and valor—memories more gracious, touched ever with the glamor of romance—and alas! as we must specially recall today, memories fraught with mournful glory and charged with tragic gloom.

As we stand here upon this towering bluff where rises in august purity of line this stately shaft and, gazing far a-field across the shining river. drink in the beauty of the historic lowland landscape, touched faintly with a luminous haze that heightens rather than veils the charm and witchery of its appealing loveliness—cold indeed must be the heart, I repeat, that does not thrill at the thought that we stand on ground made consecrate by noble blood nobly shed and glorified by deeds no time can ever touch.

Yet are these sterner memories softened by the more gracious visions of a later time, that rise before the inner eye in gazing on this scene—visions of those jocund days when bluff Virginia squires "kept alight in hearts of gold" by song and hunt and open board the brave traditions of Yorkshire and of Devon, and in their simple, high-bred lives proved them worthy of the goodly heritage bequeathed them by the daring few who first had won and held the land that bore the name of England's "Virgin Queen."

Aye! fair, in sooth, the setting for the pious task we reverently essay this day.

Yonder to the West, within the radius of a scant league, suffused in golden mist lies "Wilton," the stately manor-house of Colonel William Randolph, grandson of Colonel William Randolph of "Turkey Island," and father of that Ann Randolph, most radiant beauty of her time, who after much exasperating coquetry, finally gave her hand to Colonel Benjamin Harrison, of "Brandon"—"Nancy Wilton," as she was familiarly known to kinsfolk and intimates—who still smiles archly down upon us from the painter's canvas with patch on chin and powder on hair, the very pearl of "Colonial Dames."

Scarce a mile away is "Varina," so called because of sweet-scented tobacco grown there was rated as worthy rival of the fragrant "Varinas" of Old Spain—the home of Master John Rolfe and his Indian princess-bride, Pocahontas, in the first years of their happy wedded life, and, long after, the scholarly retreat of William Stith, grandson of Colonel William Randolph, Oxford graduate and President of the College of William and Mary, whose erudite yet graphic *History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia* remains after the lapse of more than a century and a half one of our prime authorities for the genesis of the colony and its gradual development up to the dissolution of the "Virginia Company."

Eastward, only a few miles lower down, we plainly see "Curls Neck," so called from the "curls" made there by "the King's River," as the James was then called, owned in chief measure by Richard Randolph, grandfather of "John Randolph of Roanoke," and son of that William Randolph who was the common ancestor of three of the most

illustrious men in all Anglo-Saxon annals—Thomas Jefferson, John Marshall and Robert Edward Lee. At "Curls" too was the home of Virginia's first glorious "Rebel," Nathaniel Bacon the younger who in 1676, led the Virginia yeomen as they flamed out into revolt against the arbitrary exactions of Sir William Berkeley and yielded up his brave young life (though not on field of battle) in defence of those principles that men of his breed and blood had wrested from John at Runymede—principles identical with those for which just a century later another Virginia "Rebel," George Washington, unsheathed his trenchant blade and for which, more than eighty years after decisive victory on the plains of Yorktown had transformed Washington from "dire Rebel" into "Pater Patriae," a third immortal Virginia "Rebel," Robert Edward Lee, with the point of his stainless sword wrote the name of Virginia and of her Southern sisters afresh in the very "Rubric of Freedom."

And just back of Turkey Island, lies yonder "Malvern Hill," called after the lovely "Malvern Hills" that form the gracious boundary-line between Hereford and Worcestershire in the motherland beyond the seas—"Malvern Hill" and, hard by, "White Oak Swamp" and all those stricken fields which Lee and Jackson and the "thin gray line" have made forever historic by the splendor of their deeds.

But time would fail me to make even barest allusion to all the places that lie so close about us, whose names still weave their magic spell, "whispering the enchantment" (in Matthew Arnold's exquisite phrase) of a by-gone time—each and all, from "Coxen-Dale" to "Drewry's Bluff," pulsing with memories of our mother's great renown in three momentous wars and attesting the instant readiness of her people down through all the centuries, in obedience to "the one clear call" of conscience, to give their all without grudge and without stint whenever freedom is at stake.

Yet glorious as are the crowding memories of the scene, today our chief concern is centred on the spot whereon we stand —site of the ancient town this shaft and tablet mark and of the noble enterprise that pure religion and undefiled purposed to dedicate to the service and the glory of Almighty God and

that wisest statesmanship had planned for the broad upbuilding of the "budding state."

Here was "Dale's Town," as 'twas called of "common folk," despite its royal name of "Henricopolis," or "Cittie of Henricus," in honor of "the expectancy and rose" of England's "fair state," Henry, Prince of Wales, son of James the First and grandson of the beautiful and unfortunate Queen of Scots, who, had he lived to reign, had surely averted from his own kingdom at home and from Virginia as well the many tragic vicissitudes that were destined soon to shake the very fabric of the whole realm.

As most of our Virginia histories make but scant allusion to him, surely it becomes us this day to pause a moment at his name.

Though "untimely death," as Shakespeare terms it, snatched him away ere he had rounded out his eighteenth year, he had already become the idol of the nation by reason of his high martial spirit, his extraordinary proficiency in all manly accomplishments (for he was a daring horseman, skilful in "tossing the pike" and "putting the bar," a crack player at tennis and golf, as well as an expert archer), and, in chiefest measure, because of his outspoken frankness that contrasted so sharply with the subtle duplicity of his crafty father. From early boyhood he was grave and thoughtful—precocious far beyond his years in his intimate knowledge of military and naval matters, strict in his attendance on public worship, and ever bore himself, we are told, with princely dignity.

In a thoroughly corrupt court, he would suffer no coarse stories nor profanity in his presence, yet was he endowed with a fund of quiet humor and possessed of a nimble wit.

Those about him loved him above all for his generous and fearless loyalty to such of his friends as lay under the jealous displeasure of his narrow-minded father.

With Sir Walter Raleigh, the most versatile genius of his time—brilliant soldier, who had won marked distinction on the fields of Jarnac and Moncontour fighting as a volunteer under Coligny on the side of Huguenots—daring seaman, the peer of Drake and Frobisher and Lord Thomas Howard and picturesquely dubbed by Edmund Spenser "the Shepherd of

the Ocean"—presently to be desperately wounded while leading the van in the "War-spite" as the fleet forced the entrance to the bay and captured Cadiz—chemist, physicist, cartographer, archaeologist, statesman, poet and man-of-letters who could hold his own at the "Mermaid Tavern" with Shakespeare and Marlowe and "rare Ben Jonson"—with Raleigh, "Admirable Crichton" of his age, the young Prince was on terms of intimate friendship and regardless of consequences to himself often visited him when confined in "the Tower," once declaring in an outburst of boyish contempt, "Methinks my father is the only man who would keep such a bird in a cage."

He had, in truth, nothing in common with that weak, treacherous, and pusillanimous creature, James Stuart, but his whole being throbbed responsive to the old Viking blood that coursed through his veins, coming to him from his mother Anne, of Denmark.

Fired by Raleigh's enthusiastic schemes of colonization, he not only gladly became the first patron of the "Virginia Company," but, as our historians should note, he was in an especial sense the patron of Dale, who had been in close attendance upon him from his infancy to his ninth year.

At the time of his birth, Dale was in the Dutch military service, but almost at once the "States General" sent the doughty old soldier and sailor over to Scotland to become a member of the retinue of the young Prince then in ward at Sterling, and in that capacity Dale served for nearly eight years.

Thus, there grew up on the little lad's side a deep affection for that stern, yet kindly veteran of "blood and iron," while the latter cherished for his young master a devotion that was well-nigh romantic in its passionate intensity.

When the Prince was in his ninth year, Dale, who was highly esteemed by the "States General," was summoned back to his military duties in Holland, but Henry never forgot him, and when at the age of sixteen he was created Prince of Wales, June 4th, 1610—the very day, as chance would have it, that gloomy news came of the desperate condition of affairs in this colony—he at once sought and obtained from the Dutch

ambassadors (who had come over to England to attend his investiture) a promise to send back to him his trusty old servant for service in Virginia.

Dale having received leave of absence from the States General, joyfully obeyed the summons of his young master, arriving in England towards the end of January, 1611. There he remained only a few weeks—just long enough to confer with the members of the "Quarter Court" of the "Virginia Company" as to his instructions, and, incidentally, to marry Elizabeth Throckmorton, cousin of that other Elizabeth Throckmorton who had married Raleigh. In March, he sailed from Land's End.

The colony was, indeed, in a desperate plight, decimated by fever, scurvy, and other diseases. Sir Thomas Gates had gone back to England (July 25th, 1610), but only for a time, to obtain necessary supplies and to urge that more colonists be sent out at once.

Lord De La Warr—the first to be commissioned "Lord Governour and Captaine Generall of Virginia" for life—a pious, sagacious, and prudent executive, whose valor in the Low Countries had proved him worthy scion of that Roger De La Warr who had taken John, King of France, prisoner on the field of Poictiers—Lord De La Warr had been stricken with malarial fever and, with life trembling in the balance, had sailed away, much against his will, with Argall in April (1611), leaving but 150 survivors at Jamestown. He himself was destined never to return.

He and Dale passed each other on the seas, the latter arriving at Jamestown about the same time that the Lord Governor reached England.

Gates, on reaching England, had but confirmed the evil tidings that had reached the "Virginia Company," and De La Warr on his arrival found the Council gloomily weighing the question whether it were not best to "abandon the action" (i. e., the enterprise) and recall the gaunt remnant still left in Virginia.

But ill as he was, De La Warr's gallant spirit remained unbroken and he besought the Council, having put their hand to the plough, not to turn back, declaring with generous warmth

that he would adventure "all his fortunes upon the prosecution of the Plantation." Stout old Gates vigorously supported him, attesting "with a solemn and sacred oath," say the "Minutes," that Virginia was "one of the goodliest countries under the sunne."

Not a few of us there are, I think, that after three centuries still hold to Gates' opinion, and it is pleasant to know that some of the De La Warr staunch stock is yet "to the fore" in our "Old Dominion" and that his family name of West is perpetuated to this day in West Point on the York (at first called the "Delaware"), while "Shirley," the noble old manor-house of the Carters on the James, preserves for us the name of his wife, fair Mistress "Cissellye" Sherley, daughter of Sir Thomas Sherley, whom he married in 1596.

Dale, titularly "High Marshall" but virtually clothed with all the powers of Governor, sailed from Land's End, as we have seen, on March 27th, 1611, and, after a safe voyage, touching at Kicoughtan to put the colonists there to work planting corn, sailed up the river and reached Jamestown on May 29th.

He was soon to be followed by Gates whose title had been changed from "Lieutenant Governour" to "Lieutenant Generall" and who was, of course, his superior.

But it is to be noted by those who read between the lines of the records that even after the arrival of Gates, Dale seems to have had with the former's full consent an absolutely free hand in the active direction of affairs, for these two sturdy soldiers had been close comrades in the Low Countries, campaigning together as simple captains in the English contingent employed in the Dutch service and undoubtedly Dale's was the more energetic and masterful spirit of the two, though Gates himself was a very able man.

May I pause just a moment here to observe in passing that Professor John Fiske is utterly wrong in asserting, as he does in his delightful *"Old Virginia and Her Neighbors,"* that Gates was in Virginia with Dale only "for a small part of the time." Gates was here for nearly three out of the five years of Dale's service, arriving in June, 1611, and not sailing for home until March, 1614.

Fresh from the records, I have however found so many mistakes in the majority of histories touching this time that it seems rather invidious to single out Prof. Fiske's blunder.

Straightway on his arrival at Jamestowne Dale's trained soldier's eye told him at a glance that Jamestown, both from a strategic and sanitary point of view, was an unfit place for the permanent seat of government. In those rude, empiric times there was no Colonel Gorgas with his marvellous scientific sanitation, and owing to the surrounding "fennes" and marshes the place was yearly scourged by deadly malarial fevers, while its proximity to the fine roadstead that gave safe anchorage to sea-going ships rendered it specially vulnerable to the fleets of Spain.

It was, no doubt, this last consideration that weighed most heavily with him, for Spain was ever his *"bête-noire"* and every Spaniard his natural enemy—a veritable "child of the Devil"—and, like Sir Richard Grenville, in Tennyson's stirring ballad of *"The Revenge,"* the stout old seaman-soldier could boast that he had "never turned his back on Don or Devil yet."

He knew, and all England knew as well (though James Stuart, in his eagerness for "the Spanish match," pretended to doubt) that Philip of Spain viewed with growing jealousy and alarm the English settlement in Virginia, which, once firmly established, must prove a menacing naval base for harrying his rich possessions in the West Indies and on the "Spanish Main."

His decision once made, Dale's energy was, indeed, phenomenal. In little more than a fortnight of his arrival, he sailed up "the King's River" in June, to search for a more salubrious site for the seat of government and finally selected the spot to be known popularly thereafter as "Dale's Town," which he describes as "a high land invironed with the Mayne River, near to an Indian Town called Arrahattocke—a convenient strong, healthie and sweet seate to plant the new Towne in, from whence might be no more remove of the principal seate."

Returning at once to Jamestown to superintend personally the necessary preparations for building, he came back to this "healthie and sweet seate" about the middle of Septem-

ber (having left Jamestown on a flood-tide, a day and half before), bringing with him 350 picked men, who were not only to build the new town and, later, to till the soil, but who, above all, were to garrison what then (mark!) was the *further Western outpost of the Anglo-Saxon world!*

Having, with his customary energy and foresight, already prepared, as I have said, the greater part of the material needed, within the extraordinary brief space of ten days he strongly fortified seven English acres of ground.

"This towne," writes Captain Ralph Hamor, in a rich and varied orthography (that, like Byron's prosody at Harrow, is "such as pleases God")—"This towne is situaed upon a necke of a plaine risinge land, three parts invironed by the Maine River; the necke of land well impaled makes it like an Ile; it hathe three streets of well-framed houses, a handsome Church, the foundation of a better laid (to bee built of Bricke), besides store-houses, watch-houses and such like. Upon the verge of the River, there are five houses, wherein live the honester (i. e., more honorable) sort of people, as Farmers in England, and they keepe continually Centinell for the townes securitie."

Rich corn-lands across the river to the South and West were also impaled and strongly guarded by block-houses and forts, while Dale further strengthened the town against any sudden foray of wily savage from the North by cutting a deep *fosse* across the narrow neck of land already impaled, which *fosse* was called "Dutch Gap," because it was of the same type as those he had been accustomed to construct in his campaigns in Holland.

You must bear in mind that when Dale was thus busy in building and fortifying, Prince Henry was yet alive and well, eager to further to the utmost the moral welfare and material development of the Plantations, and Dale, who was rigidly truthful, took a pardonable pride in writing to him in the middle of January, 1612, within four months of the time when the first timbers were laid, that he had "made Henricus much better and of more worth than all the work ever since the Colony began, therein done."

One pleasant human touch that goes straight to our heart, there is in the midst of his quasi-official letter—when the rugged old soldier, who evidently remembered his young patron's fondness for "the noble and royal sport of falconry" and who himself, like Hamlet, "knew a hawk from a handsaw," tells him that he has sent him as a little present "a falcon and a tassall."

Alas, early in November of this same year (1612), the young Prince was suddenly stricken with typhoid fever and passed away within a few days.

So great was the dismay occasioned by this unlooked-for and appalling stroke both here in the colony and at "home" where he was not only "the bright star," as he was termed, of the "Virginia Company," *but the hope of the whole Puritan party,* that it is no exaggeration to declare that Virginia came within an ace of being abandoned at once and forever.

Even Dale himself, whose whole heart was bound up in the colony, was so crushed by the unforseen blow, that for a time his own nearly gave away under the blighting stroke.

His letter to Mocket, on receiving the tragic news, can scarcely be read by even the coldest after the lapse of three hundred years, with undimmed eyes: "My glorious master," he writes, "is gone, that would have ennamelled with his Favours the Labours I undertake for God's cause and his immortall Honour. He was the great Captaine of our Israel, the hope to have builded up this heavenly new Jerusalem. *He interred, I think the whole fabric of this business fell into his grave*: for most men's forward (at least seeming so) desires are quenched, *and Virginia stands in desperate hazard.*"

But it was only for a brief space that he was so shaken.

Like Caesar he had "wept," yet was his "ambition" of that "sterner stuff" of which Mark Antony speaks, bending over Caesar dead, and resolutely putting aside his poignant personal grief he redoubled his efforts for the saving of the colony—his dauntless spirit discerning in each new difficulty but fresh device.

When news came to him that men of weight at home, some of them high in the councils of the Company, were, as we

have seen, seriously meditating the abandonment of his loved Virginia, he burst out in his rough soldier-fashion in a letter to Sir Thomas Smyth: "Let me tell you all at home this one thing, and I pray you remember it: if you give over this country and loose it, you with your wisdoms will leap such a gudgeon as our state hath not done the like since they lost the Kingdome of Fraunce."

"Honor, honor, eternal honor" to the memory of the stout-hearted old hero!

We native-born Virginians, as you all know, are often twitted by the envious, not so blessed in the matter of nativity, with what they are pleased to term our "overweening state-pride." But listen to Dale (in this same letter) who like Ulysses of old, had "seen many men and many cities," and who was the very embodiment of robust common-sense: "I protest unto you by the faith of an honest man, the more I range this country, the more I admire it. I have seen the best countries in Europe; I protest unto you, before the Living God, put them all together, this country will be the equivalent unto them, if it be inhabitant with good people."

There spoke the seer, as well as the hardy pioneer unwilling to yield his undertaking!

Of Dale's untiring activities during the critical period from 1611 to 1616, I cannot speak adequately within the limits imposed by a popular address, for in all soberness the story of his career is the story of the colony itself for those eventful years.

Next to John Smith, he was, I hold, the ablest soldier and the most sagacious administrator that came out to Virginia in the Seventeenth Century.

He found the colony well-nigh at its last gasp and left it prosperous and confident.

He was a stern disciplinarian, but he himself yielded the same scrupulous obedience to his superiors that he rigidly exacted from those under him. He was a terror to drones and evil-doers, but that way lay salvation for the struggling Plantation. When his men at Henrico restless under his iron discipline ran away to the Indians, and, after basking awhile in listless laziness, slipped back within the palisades, he promptly

shot them, in relentless adherence to the savage code, "written in blood," that uniformly obtained in the Low Countries.

For this he has been harshly criticized by some historians, but these latter were probably ignorant of the fact that he was only rigidly carrying out his instructions as contained in the "Laws Divine, Moral and Martial," compiled by William Strachey, Secretary of the Company, (at least in part) from the Dutch Army Regulations and sent over by Sir Thomas Smyth for his guidance—a code repugnant, indeed, to our times, but, be it remembered, the very same that the "Iron Duke," two centuries later, pitilessly followed in his immortal "Peninsular" campaign.

Like so many of the valorous captains of "the spacious times of great Elizabeth"—Richard Grenville and Philip Sidney and Lord Thomas Howard—his whole being was saturated with a deep, unquestioning piety, and he was as keen in disputation over some perplexing text of Scripture as he was alert in handling broadsword or petronel.

In the pauses of his strenuous life here at "Henricopolis" it was his chief pleasure to row across the river in the evening to "Coxen-Dale" and discuss some nice point in theology with godly "Master Whitaker," who had come out from England with him as his chaplain in the good ship *"Prosperous."*

To sum up: under his administration the Indains had been pacified, the population well-nigh trebled, and all the land lay in such smiling plenty that when he was summoned home —presently to command the East India fleet—John Rolfe wrote to the King: "Sir Thomas Dale's worth and name in managing the affairs of this Colony will outlast the standing of this Plantation."

Once again, as a Virginian passionately devoted to his native state, I stand uncovered and reverently salute this great captain and administrator as one of the most illustrious of all "Virginia Worthies."

In the spring of 1616, Dale sailed for England in the *"Treasurer,"* after five years (to use his own homely words) "of the hardest taske that ever I undertooke, and by the blessinge of God have with pour meanes left the Collonye in great prosperitie and peace, contrary to man's expectation."

With him went Master John Rolfe, "an honest gentleman and of good behaviour," and his young wife ("Pocahontas" by pet-name, "Matoaka" by birth, and "Rebecca" by baptism), very proud of her lusty infant son, Thomas, and along with them twelve young Indians of both sexes "to be educated in England"—a visit intimately associated with the beneficient scheme that Sandys and other broad-minded members of the Company were to develop, and one fraught with far-reaching possibilities touching both secondary and higher education in Virginia.

You all recall, of course, the wondrous reception accorded Pocahontas in England, by both court and people. Lady De La Warr, wife of Virginia's titular "Lord Governour and Captaine Generall," presented her to the Queen, who because of her eldest-born, Prince Henry, "so loved and early lost," took an especial interest in the young "Virginia Princess," as she was called—while the great ladies of the court, the Countesses of Bedford and Sussex and Nottingham, following the royal lead vied with each other in their cordial welcome of the gentle and dignified "Emperour's daughter." Night after night routs and receptions were given in her honor, and the common folk crowded about her chair at the entrance to the play-house, as she alighted and entered in company with Lord and Lady De La Warr, to witness the performance of Ben Jonson's *"Christmas His Mask."*

"La Belle Sauvage," in brief, became "the rage of the town," and Purchas, who was present at a great reception given for her by Dr. King, Bishop of London ("with festivall state," he says, "and pompe beyond what I have seen in his great hospitalite to other ladies"), declares that she "carried herself as the daughter of a King," and adds that she was "accordingly respected not only by the Company (i. e., the "Virginia Company"), but of divers particular persons of Honour *in the hopeful zeal by her to advance Christianitie."* It is in these last words that we find the germ of the "budding hope" that gradually grew into the fixed purpose of founding "a colledge" in Virginia for the conversion and education of the Indians—a purpose, I repeat, that had surely flowered into glorious fruition, had it not been nipped (in

Shakespearian phrase) by the "untimely frost" of that woful tragedy of 1622.

Far more significant, indeed, than any social triumphs (which were sure to be showered upon her under such exalted patronage) was this "hopeful zeal," with which the gentle "Virginia Princess" inspired those about her—that is, those of the godlier sort—a "zeal" not diminished by their profound pity for the fate of the poor Indian children brought over with her, who, unused to the rigors of the harsh English climate faded away one after another, though gently cared for under the kindly roof-tree of Sir Thomas Smyth, in Philpott Lane.

And this "zeal" naturally became only more intensified by the death, within a year (March, 1617), of Pocahontas herself (poor, wistful little figure!), who unexpectedly passed away at Gravesend on the eve of setting sail for Virginia, "having," as Purchas tells us, "given great demonstration of her Christian sincerity as the fruits of Virginia conversion, leaving here a godly memory."

No doubt, she herself, in her half-shy, half-direct, manner, had spoken with the King about this matter that lay so close to her heart, for *within a few days of her burial* James issued his "special grant and license" in a circular letter to the two archbishops of the realm, instructing them to direct the bishops of all the dioceses within their respective jurisdictions, to make collections "for the erecting of some churches and schools for ye education of ye children of those Barbarians in Virginia"—the funds when collected, to be turned over the Treasurer of the "Virginia Company."

This may be justly regarded as the real inception of the nobler and broader enterprise.

It was the earliest of several like educational efforts made during the three or four years immediately succeeding the

The point of view of the picture opposite is from just below the lower end of Dutch Gap Canal looking up the river. The point on the left of the Canal is the site of Henricopolis at the end of Farrar's Island. The monument which was the occasion of this address may be seen immediately in front of the house on the U. S. lighthouse reservation and close to the Canal. The tract of land opposite the upper end of the Canal and nearly encircled by the river is Coxendale. A part of the unused reach of the river now gradually filling may be seen, extending to the left behind Farrar's Island.

DUTCH GAP AND VICINITY

From an aeroplane photograph. Courtesy Richmond Times-Dispatch.

death of Pocahontas, and as there is much confusion and, indeed, contradiction in most of the histories as to the order of these projected foundations, I crave your patience while I give succinctly and in barest outline the chronological sequence of each. The outlines I may fill in at a later time, as I have a mass of notes bearing on the subject taken direct from the records. But this is neither the time nor place for their presentation.

The "Colledge," as I have already indicated, was primarily designed to evangelize the Indians, but the project, once it was taken up by "the Company," gradually grew to be more comprehensive, with the result that Sir Edwin Sandys and his adherents (who at that time dominated the affairs of the Company) set to work to devise a systematic scheme of education for Virginia, leading up from free-school to college, and, in further time, to university. This was, indeed, looking far ahead and the execution of the plan in its completeness was obviously dependent on the contingency of securing the necessary funds in the future, but the men who evolved the scheme were hard-headed "men of affairs," who believed fully in its ultimate success.

The first step, then, in their matured scheme, contemplated the founding of the "Colledge" designed not only "for training Indian children in the true knowledge of God and *in some useful employment,*" but also for the education of the sons of the white planters, who (as stated later in the "Minutes" as to the "East Indie Schoole") "through want thereof have been hitherfore constrained to their great costes to send their children from thence to be taught."

Good schools were also to be established exclusively for white children, as the revenues from the endowment increased or as money should come in from donations and bequests.

The "Minutes" of the "Quarter Court" prove that the idea of the ultimate university was never absent from the thoughts of the "committee" charged with the execution of the undertaking, and had the comprehensive plan (embracing the manual instruction for the Indians) been successfully carried through (and remember it came within an ace of achievement), the aim of Armstrong's *"Hampton Institute"* and of

Jefferson's University would have been anticipated by more than two centuries.

I. For the establishing of the college (and, in time, of the university) the collections amounted early in 1619 to £1500, equal in our modern currency to roughly $40,000. To this "the Company" added (I quote the exact words of the "Minutes"): "Ten thousand acres of land for *the University to be planted at Henrico* and one thousand acres *for the College for the conversion of Infidels*"; and, in April of the next year, Master George Thorpe "of His Majestie's Privie Chamber, and one of his Councill for Virginia" (whom John Smith calls "that worthy religious gentleman") was sent out to be "Deputy" (or Manager) for the "Colledge lands" which lay on both sides of the river.

Though "the Company" was ordered to erect the college "at once," Sandys and his colleagues, like the wise and prudent men that they were resolved to make haste slowly.

Before they began actual work on the college buildings, they rightly wished to feel certain of a stable endowment fund. The 11,000 acres of rich bottom-lands about Henrico, already given by "the Company" for establishing the college and university, would constitute, given a reasonable time for proper cultivation, a magnificent endowment fund, for there grew the finest tobaccos and the cereal crops were almost sure to be abundant. So, as we read in the "Minutes," "it was conceived fittest to forbear building the Colledge awhile, and to begin with the money we have to provide Annuall revennue, and out of that to begin the erection of said Colledge."

Meanwhile, farm-laborers, brick-makers, carpenters, artisans of all sorts, were sent out and put at once to work. Gifts, too, of various kinds had already begun to flow in—gifts of money, of a communion service for the college chapel, of books for the college library—all from modest donors, who (unlike certain modern philanthropists that shall be nameless) "desyre to remayne unknown and unsought after."

II. The next handsome donation, in order, was a gift of £550 from some unknown benefactor, who at the beginning of February, 1620, wrote to the Treasurer of the Company offering this amount "for the educatinge and bringing upp

Infidells Children in Christianytie," signing the letter *"Dust and Ashes."*

The letter was referred on February 2nd to a committee, and three weeks later the actual gift was made in a manner highly dramatic and calculated to arouse the liveliest curiosity.

When the "Quarter Court" met on February 22nd, they saw upon the session-table in the room, a box addressed to "Sir Edwin Sandis, the faithful Treasurer of Virginia," which (I follow the "Minutes") "hee acquainted them was brought unto him by a man of good fashion, who would neither tell him his name nor from whence hee came." The superscription of the letter and that of the box were compared, the writing found to be identical, the box opened, and therein was found in a stout canvas-bag the £550 (equal about $14,000 in modern currency) in newly-minted gold. "The Southampton Association" added £150 to the donation, thus made by the diffident *"Dust and Ashes,"* and it was forthwith resolved to establish at "Southampton Hundred" a school for white children, said school (mark you!) *to be "dependent on the Colledge" and under its control.*

III. The third donation for the building of a church or the establishment of a school, was a fund collected by the Rev. Patrick Copeland from among "the gentlemen and mariners" of the *"Royal James"* (of which ship Copeland was chaplain) while she lay at the Cape of Good Hope on her return voyage to England from India.

Copeland having acquainted the "Company" on his arrival in England as to amount and purpose of this contribution, the committee, after discussion "conceaved * * * that there was a greater want of a Schoole than of Churches," as there was already a goodly number of the latter in the Plantation. They therefore resolved to establish with this fund (later increased by other contributions) a school at "Charles Cittie" (the modern "City Point"), "to be called in honour of the donors the *'East Indie Schoole'.*"

I ask your especial attention to the resolutions adopted as to this school at a meeting of the committee on Tuesday, October 30th, 1621: "They (the committee) therefore conceaved it most fitt to resolve for the erectinge of a publique free

schoole w'ch being for the education of children and groundinge of them in the principles of religion, Civility of life and humane learninge served to carry with it the greatest waight and highest consequence unto the Plantations as that whereof both Church and Commonwealth take their originall foundation and happie estate."

Here in his homely "Minute" we have presented to us with pregnant terseness the true aim of all real education—the essential things that must be held fast to in the training of youth, if we would have them become good and useful citizens —all stated with a direct simplicity that is in refreshing contrast to the long-winded platitudes of those who (in the *argot* of this XXth Century), pride themselves on the hideous name of "Educators" and who mouth their banalties as to "The Relation of Education to the State" with a profundity of pinchbeck "wisdom" as if one inquired of an oracle of God.

But to prove beyond successful cavil that the committee proposed that these schools should be feeders to the college at Henrico, which should gradually raise its standards and thus pave the way for the university, I pray you listen closely to another paragraph of this "Minute"; "It was also thought fitt that this as a Collegiate or free schoole should have dependence upon the Colledge in Virginia, w'ch shall be made capable to receave Schollers from the Schoole into such Scollerships and fellowshipps as the said Colledge shall be endowed withall for the advancement of schollers as they arise by degrees and desertes in learninge."

It is a pleasant thought that we owe this fund indirectly to Dale, who had kindled Copeland's active interest in Virginia, while the latter was serving under him in the East Indies, where the valorous old soldier-sailor fell on heroic sleep at Masulipitan, on the Coromandel Coast in August, 1619. When Queen Mary of England lay a-dying, her pride broken by the loss of Calais to the French, she said to her waiting-women, we are told, "When I die, Calais will be found written on my heart." So, in different and nobler fashion, was it with Dale. Virginia was ever the darling thought of his dauntless old heart. Far away under Eastern skies, that heart

was ever in the West, and in one of his last letters, penned at Jacastra in the summer of 1619, he says wistfully: "I shall be glad to hear how Virginia prospers."

Quite aware that I lay myself open to Falstaff's retort to Prince Hal, "O, thou hast damnable iteration," I repeat that the "Minutes of the Virginia Company,' 'as well as other documents and letters of the time, prove beyond the shadow of a doubt, the truth of my contention—that Sandys, assisted by the sagacious counsels of Southampton and Nicholas Ferrar, the younger, worked out a well-devised and well-rounded scheme for graded education in the colony from elementary school to university, the baldest outlines of which I can only sketch in this address, reserving the details for presentation elsewhere.

This systematic scheme could not have been entrusted to abler hands nor could there have been a happier combination of practical "business sense," genuine culture and high educational ideals than we find in the small group of men charged with the framing and execution of the plan.

Of this group it is noteworthy that Sir Edwin Sandys and Sir Dudley Digges were Oxford men who had carried off university honors, and that the Earl of Southampton and the younger Ferrar were graduates of Cambridge; while associated with them were such "merchant princes" ("merchant-adventurers," they called themselves) as John Ferrar, Deputy Treasurer of "the Company," and Sir John Wolstenholme, both of whom were distinguished among their fellows, far beyond their wealth, for their hard common-sense and administrative ability.

Of these Sandys is unquestionably the dominant figure, not alone as regards this special scheme and the general conduct of Virginia affairs, but in the broader field of the great struggle for civil and constitutional liberty that had even then begun, though as yet under the surface, in English politics. Scholar, author, orator, statesman, shrewd "man of affairs," his is always the sure touch of the trained hand that has back of it a trained mind and a fearless spirit; nor can any true Virginian ever forget that it was in chiefest measure at his instance that instructions (already ratified by the "Quarter

Court," November 28th, 1618) were sent out to Sir George Yeardley to summon an Assembly of Free Burgesses to meet at Jamestown, July 30th, 1619—the first popular legislative assembly convened in the "New World" and one that met and exercised legislative functions *more than a year before the "Pilgrims" sailed from Southampton in the "Mayflower."*

Though Sandys was titular "Treasurer" only for a single year (declining renomination in 1620 lest his continuance in the high office might jeopardize the interests of "the Company" because of the intense animosity the king cherished towards him—the latter saying vindicatively to the deputation from "the Company" that waited on him humbly begging the withdrawal of his objection to Sandy's candidacy: "He is my greatest enemy—choose the Devil, if you will, but not Sir Edwin Sandys")—though Sandys, I say, was titular "Treasurer" but for a single year, Gardiner, one of the greatest of modern historians, who knows that time with a breadth and accuracy that few may pretend to declares that his tenure of the Treasurership *"made 1619, a date to be remembered in the history of English colonization."*

But as a matter of fact long before and long after he was nominally "Treasurer," he was practically "the power behind the throne" and his voice consistently the most potent voice in shaping and controlling the destinies of Virginia.

On June 28th, 1620, he was succeeded as Treasurer by Henry Wriothesly, third Earl of Southampton, with the younger Ferrar as Deputy—both staunch adherents of his.

Southampton—ward of the "Virgin Queen" in early boyhood—friend in his young manhood of the gallant and unfortunate Essex, under whom he served in the expedition against Cadiz, later on taking part in the latter's hapless madbrained "rising"—the friend too and only patron of Shakespeare, who first dedicated to him his *"Venus and Adonis,"* and, a year later, his *"Lucrece"* in such burning words of passionate devotion as savor to the modern ear of romantic extravagance—rarely accomplished in "polite letters" and marvellously handsome with his deep-violet eyes and long auburn love-locks "softer than the finest silk" (we are told) falling over his shoulders—the darling of the court-ladies (especially of that radiant beauty, Mistress Elizabeth Vernon)—South-

ampton was yet no languorous "carpet-knight," no more plutocratic "Maecenas" of men-of-letters, but a sagacious statesman and liberal promoter of colonization, while he had proved himself in the Low Countries an intrepid soldier whose "forward spirit" (as his friend Shakespeare hath it) ever "lifted him where most trade of danger ranged." A fearless champion of the imperilled interests of Virginia, he generously dared all to frustate the king's purpose to take into his own hands the government of the colony in 1624 and six weeks after his efforts to thwart his "royal master" had proved of no avail left England to take service again in Holland, where he (as well as his eldest son and heir) perished of fever within a few months.

Nor may I pause to sketch even in outline the beautiful life of his Deputy, Nicholas Ferrar, the younger, whose delicate scholarly face, etherial in its sweet asceticism and touched with a radiance not of this world, shines upon us across the centuries from the canvas of Jannsen yonder at "Magdalene," Cambridge, with the rapt expression of some transfigured mediaeval saint.

Of the many debts of gratitude that we Virginians of today owe these two last is the transcription of the *"Records of the Virginia Company"* that Ferrar made, at the instance of Southampton, with phenomenal industry and rapidity when the unexpected demand came from the King for all the original papers of "the Company."

[This transcription long remained in the Southampton family, was finally purchased from the executors of the fourth Earl by Wliliam Byrd (the second) of Westover, later on came into the possession of Thomas Jefferson, and finally acquired by the Library of Congress, was published in 1906, in two stately volumes.]

To return from this apparent digression which is yet not irrelevant.

All things seemed propitious for the success of the plan which the robust common-sense of these practical altruists assured them was no visionary scheme.

True, during the three years, no brick had been laid nor timber "squared" for the erection of school, college, or university, but that was because, as we have seen, of the sagacious

resolve of Sandys and his colleagues not to begin work (save in the case of the *"East India School"*) until the fertile lands that constituted the chiefest part of the endowment should have been put under systematic cultivation, thus ensuring the certainty of a substantial "Annuall Revennue."

But the preparations were well in hand—the brick-makers under contract—the tenants engaged in clearing new ground and in planting corn and tobacco—the Rev'd Patrick Copeland elected as first "Rector of the College"—masters and ushers engaged for the schools—when suddenly on that woful morning of Good Friday, 1622, the bolt shot from the blue.

"The Great Massacre" (as it came to be known), planned by Opechancanough, with devilish treachery and cunning, burst upon the unsuspecting settlements up and down and on both sides of the river like a very "besom of destruction."

I must send you to the pages of Smith and Purchas and Stith and others for the gruesome details. It suffices to state briefly that nearly one-third of the colonists were slain, no age nor sex spared, and no revolting element of fiendish ferocity lacking.

Among those who perished were six "Councillors," including the gentle and pious Thorpe, who had already incurred no little sharp criticism from some of Dale's veterans, because of his extraordinary benefactions and weak indulgences to the Indians.

The news did not reach London until near the middle of July, and it seems the very irony of unmixed tragedy that at the very time when the gaunt survivors of the butchery lay starving within the palisades of settlements from Henrico to "Martin's Hundred"—hollowed-eyed, stern-faced men a-watch day and night with trusty matchlocks hard at hand, and pallid women clutching in fitful slumber their babies to their breasts, their nerves a-tingle with dread suspense lest the wild war-whoop, rising higher and ever higher in shrill *crescendo,* should rend the mid-night sky—that at that very time there was being held in London, under the auspices of "the Company," a special "Thanksgiving Service" at Bow Church in Cheapside, whither came in their sedan-chairs smiling dames in gowns of stiff brocade and petticoat of taffeta, shod in velvet shoon, escorted by gallants from Soho or St.

James's Square in slashed doublet, with "falling bands" of richest lace, and verdingale breeches and gartered "Venetian hose," or perhaps by rich merchants from Bishopgate and Lombard street in dress of soberer cut and hue—all to hear that fluent divine the Reverend Patrick Copeland ere he took ship for Henrico pronounce his eloquent discourse on *"Virginia's God be thanked, or a Sermon of Thanksgiving for the Happie Successe of the Affayres in Virginia this last yeare."*

I have myself read that sermon not so long ago, and the only comment that can be made rises unbidden, "O Iago, the pity of it," the pity of it!

Only a few more words and I have done.

The "Massacre" was indeed a direful blow but it was not necessarily fatal.

The colonists took heart again as men of pure Anglo-Saxon strain ever do and after exacting the blood debt from the savages to the uttermost drop, set themselves resolutely to the task of rebuilding their waste-places; while "the Company" (which means Sandys and the men I have mentioned) paraphrasing St. Jerome's immortal aphorism that "the blood of the Martyrs is the seed of the Church" wrote out heartening words of cheer (with promises of instant help) to the Governor and Council, saying that "they saw such a disposition in Men's minds as made them think that this Addition of Price had endeared the Purchase, and that the Blood of their People would be the Seed of the Plantation."

But within two years, when skies were brightening again and high hopes once more enkindled, came the final and irreparable stroke—far more blighting than "the Great Massacre" —*the revocation of the Charter and dissolution of "the Company."*

"Touchstone," as you all remember, in one of his saucy quips to "the melancholy Jaques" in *"As You Like It,"* says that there is "much virtue in *If"* and one cannot help revolving in one's mind what would have been the probable outcome of this noble educational enterprise "if" Prince Henry had lived and "if" Dale in consequence had been kept in active command in Virginia. Certainly under the iron discipline of Dale who was feared alike by reckless colonist and treacherous red-skin and who was more than a match for the wily Ope-

chancanough, there would have been none of the criminal carelessness on the part of the settlers in allowing the Indians to run in and out of their houses at all hours—none of the well-meant but foolish "indulgements" of the savages on the part of his kinsman, pious Mr. Thorpe, no slackness in the ceaseless vigilance which he exacted alike of officers and men—Perhaps no massacre at all.

Prince Henry, as fondly loved by court and common-folk as James Stuart was secretly hated, would possibly have been strong enough to stay the hand of his avaricious father when stretched out to destroy "the Company" of which the Prince was the enthusiastic patron—no more likely to be deluded than were Sandys and Southampton by the specious pretense of the royal hypocrite that it was their mismanagement of the affairs of the "corporation" and not his own insatiable greed of money that actuated him in his course.

Possibly! possibly! Who knows?

Such surmisings—such "might-have-beens"—belong to the realm of dreams—but even the most determined dry-as-dust who can read between the lines, will pause and dream at times!

Here ends my task, for it is not within the purview of such an address as this to consider the educational foundations that come later on in this and the succeeding century.

No matter how robust our faith that "all things work together for good"—no matter how reverently we "bow before the Awful Will," as brave old Thackeray sings—I think that despite the abundant educational blessings that have come to us in the fulness of time most of us must ever feel a poignant regret that untoward fate wrested from our mother-state the abiding honor and glory of having within her borders the first permanent college and university in the Western world.

As our own illustrious historian, Dr. Philip Alexander Bruce, eloquently declares in his monumental *"Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century"*: "Virginia in such an institution would have possessed a foundation that would have been clothed with the deeply romantic interest thrown around the colleges of the Old World by the beautifying touch of time and by the glorious achievements of their sons on every stage of action through a succession of centuries."

Sir Edwin Sandys

THE REAL BEGINNING OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

THE VIRGINIA ASSEMBLY OF 1619.

By Mary Newton Stanard.

It is the fashion to think of American democracy as having had its origin on this side of the Atlantic. It was really a gift from England, conceived there in the minds of a group of men responsible for the beginning of successful English colonization of the New World, and was brought to birth in Virginia on July 30, 1619, when a Legislature, elected by the people of the colony, assembled at Jamestown to make laws for the people who had chosen them.

Fortunately for Americans, the narrow and despotic James I had about him strong men, who were members both of his Parliament and of the Council for the Virginia Company of London.

Chief among these was Sir Edwin Sandys, son of the Archbishop of York and brother of the quaint poet, Master George Sandys. Both Virginia and New England might claim him as godfather, for before the Pilgrims set sail for the West it was Sir Edwin who obtained for them the King's promise that they should not be disturbed in their freedom to worship as they pleased.

Sandys and his colleagues were not merely men of enterprise who had invested in a stock company with the hope of making money. They were statesmen, patriots and patrons of letters. In birth and breeding, in talent and culture, in character and influence, they were the cream of England. In society and in commerce they were intimately associated. In

politics they were of the same party and held the same liberal views as to government and human rights. They were men of vision, and the Virginia lure had captivated them. They were full of it. Naturally, they talked of it at their gatherings, as they touched their wine-cups or crumbled into the queer things called "pipes" the pungent dried leaves voyagers to the Western world had brought back, and enjoyed the new and fashionable sensation—smoking.

Prominent in this group was the Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's patron and chum, who, with Sandys, was so zealous for American liberty that the wily Spanish Ambassador to the court of King James warned his Majesty against "the popular Lord Southampton" as well as "the dangerous Sandys." His Majesty had good reason to fear the Virginia Company itself, which was a self-governing body, and which, during the long intervals when he purposely refrained from assembling Parliament, did not hesitate to debate upon affairs of State which bore no relation to colonial matters.

This company, dominated by the liberal party, has been called "a school for education in free government." The weekly meetings of its executive council were long held at the house of Nicholas Ferrar, one of London's merchant princes, and he and his sons, Nicholas and John, were among the staunchest friends of Virginia and most faithful nurses of the budding American democracy. They were business men of high integrity, and the younger Nicholas was, besides, a scholar and man of conspicuously saintly life. Virginia was fortunate indeed when, after his seven years at Cambridge and his extensive travels, this young gentleman decided to devote himself to her development.

More than to all others does the world owe the beginnings of American democracy to these three—Ferrar, Sandys and Southampton. Thanks to the portrait painters of the day, we may look upon the faces—above huge, starchy ruffs—of this trio of patriots of three hundred years ago. They are large-browed, all of them. Sandys' and Southampton's features are strong and keen and at the same time benevolent; Ferrar's is almost angelic in sweetness. Charles Mills Gayley, in his interesting book, "Shakespeare and Founders of Liberty

in America" (Macmillan, 1917), proves that, besides Southampton, Will Shakespeare had other familiars in the group of sponsors for the beginning of free government for Englishmen beyond seas. How much, we wonder with Dr. Gayley, did the liberal-mindedness which wrought the miracle owe to this great-souled goodfellow? It is pleasant to see him, in imagination, listening to travelers' tales of adventure in the land of Virginia—namesake of Queen Bess—and to recall that one of the most poetic of his dramas was inspired by that "most wonderful tempest" which caused the "wracke" in the Bermuda Islands, of the good ship "Sea Venture," bound for Virginia.

Other notables of the Shakespeare coterie who were members of the Virginia Colony were the Earl of Pembroke (who, like Southampton, was a member of the Council for New England, as well as of that for Virginia), Sir Robert Sidney (brother of the knightly Sir Philip), Sir Henry Neville, and Lord Delaware—the famous sometime Governor of the colony.

Then there were the brother lawyers and poets, Christopher Brooke (crony of John Donne, who was himself a stockholder in the company) and John Selden, who "kept a plentiful table and was never without learned company."

It was through the determined endeavor of the men named and their associates that, in order to give the Virginians "a hande in the governinge of themselves" it was granted that "a general assemblie shoulde be helde yearly." It was to consist of the Governor and Council, sitting as Upper House, and a House of Burgesses composed of two members from each plantation or borough, "freely to be elected by the inhabitants thereof." While its acts had to be approved by the Virginia Company in London, no legislation by the company was to be valid until confirmed by the "assemblie" sitting at Jamestown.

The newly commissioned Governor, Sir George Yeardley, was to have sailed for Virginia on November 28, 1618, bearing with him formal instructions for the election. Everything was in readiness for the voyage, but as the stars came out on the night before, a brilliant comet was seen to bloom

among them. Sir George and his sponsors, searching the skies for weather signs, gazed at the flaming thing with uneasy awe. Who could say whether it boded good fortune or disaster? Men who went down to the sea in ships in those days took their lives in their hands. The "wracke" of the "Sea Venture" was still remembered. Governor Yeardley was himself a survivor, and many of his party had seen "The Tempest" played. His good ship remained in port next day and many days thereafter, for the heavenly visitor kept all England star-gazing for full two months.

And so England's gift of free government was not started upon its voyage to far Virginia until the end of January in the new year.

The colony had now been planted for twelve years and had taken deep enough root to give good hope of permanency. With the exception of the little settlement of "Argall's Gift," it was scattered some seventy miles along James River, and was six or seven miles wide. Its inhabitants numbered about two thousand. The ruinous community plan had been abandoned. Every man had now his own allotment of land, and when his day's work was done could sit down under his own vine and fig-tree. For protection from the Indians, as well as for good neighborhood, the emigrants established themselves in groups called variously "city," "borough," "hundred" or "plantation." There were (besides Jamestown) ten of these settlements of cabins and cottages, in the midst of gardens and fields—each duly fortified against the Indians with woden palisades.

Experiments were being made in improving native crops, and the products of England and other countries were being tried out in Virginia soil. In tobacco the colony possessed a new commodity, for which there was constantly increasing demand across the sea. Plans were afoot for the establishment, at Henricopolis—on James River—of a school and college for the education of children of the red man as well as of the white man.

Such was Virginia when dawned the first election day in the colony—and in America.

HENRY, EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON

In accordance with his instruction, "Sir George Yeardley, Knight, Governor and Captain-General of Virginia, having sent his summons all over the country, there were chosen two representatives for each borough." Bright and early in the dazzling heat of that morning of July 30, 1619 (or some time during the day before it), each councillor and burgess spurred his horse or set his sloop's sail toward Jamestown. From Charles City and the City of Henricus came the burgesses—two by two. From Martin's Brandon, Martin's Hundred and Lawne's Plantation they came; from Ward's Plantation, Argall's Gift and Flowerdieu Hundred; from Smith's Hundred and Kecoughtan, and of course "James Citie" had its own two representatives.

It was in a Virginia church—St. John's, Richmond—that Patrick Henry, when the rights which England had given America were endangered, cried, "Give me liberty or give me death!" And it was in the small wooden church at Jamestown in Virginia that the transplanted Englishmen, who were the earliest Americans, met in General Assembly, to exercise those rights for the first time.

In the language of the Secretary, Master John Pory—who was also made Speaker of the House—it is written:

"The most convenient place we could find to sitt in was the Quire of the Church, where Sir George Yeardley, the Governor, being sett down in his accustomed place, those of the Council of Estate sate next him on both handes, excepte only the Secretary then appointed Speaker, who sate right before him, John Twine, Clerke of the General Assembly, being placed nexte the Speaker, and Thomas Pierse, the Sergeant, standing at the barre to be ready for any service the Assembly should command him."

As the first Legislature in any of the English colonies, this Assembly may fairly be regarded as not only the forerunner of American colonial and state legislatures, and of the United States Congress, but also of Canadian, Australian and African parliaments.

It must be remembered that the coming of the Pilgrim Fathers to Plymouth was still more than a year off, and that among the French to the north or Spaniards to the south, such

an innovation as a popularly elected Legislature was not to be dreamed of. It was only through the lonely outpost of England on the banks of James River that government of the people, by the people, for the people, could have been brought to the Western world in that year of grace, 1619.

The church is believed to have been similar to the building of Lord Delaware's time, which it succeeded, and of which we have, happily, a complete description. This was sixty feet long by twenty-four feet wide. Fragrant cedars from the woods hard by had given of their red-veined timber for its pews, pulpit, chancel-rail, and the framework of its "fair, broad windows," which were made to "shut and open as the weather shall occasion," and a goodly black-walnut tree had fallen to provide the holy table. In the "quire" was a green velvet chair for the Governor to sit in and before it a green velvet cushion for him to kneel upon. The stone baptismal font was "hewen hollow like a canoe," and in the steeple hung two bells, which rang daily at 10 o'clock and at 4 o'clock to call the townspeople to morning and evening prayer. Lord Delaware set the fashion of keeping the church "passing sweet and trimmed up with divers flowers."

Under its brick-paved floor and in the graves around it lay the bones of many of those who had given their lives to secure a foothold for Anglo-Saxon civilization in the New World. Sir George Yeardley himself, presiding over the Assembly in his throne-like chair on this history-making summer morning, would within a few years be sleeping under the tiled chancel, and there may still be seen a gravestone believed to be his, whose worn markings show that it covers the dust of a knight.

We can almost see the assembling, in this sweet place, of America's earliest legislators.

They are all in high feather, for the brightest day that the land of their adoption has yet seen is breaking. There are hearty greetings, of course, and exchange of news of crops and home happenings. Here comes Governor Yeardley in all the state in which he fares to service on Sundays. He wears his "holiday attire," and on both sides of him and behind march his bodyguard arrayed in his Excellency's livery

and armed with halberds. He enters the choir and sits him down in his velvet chair. Next come the councillors (their good swords clanking at their sides and spurs ringing on the aisle as they walk), and take their seats on his Excellency's right and left. Similarly accoutred, follow the burgesses, in orderly procession—two by two, two by two.

"For as muche as men's affaires doe little prosper where God's service is neglected, all the burgesses tooke their places in the Quire till a prayer was said by Mr. Bucke, the minister, that it would please God to guide and sactifie all our proceedings to his Owne glory and the good of this plantation. Prayer being ended, to the intente that as we had begun at God Almighty, so we might proceed with awful and due respecte towards His lieutenant, our most gracious and dread sovereigne, all the burgesses were entreated to retyre themselves into the body of the church, which being done, before they were freely admitted, they were called to order by name, and so every man (none staggering at it) took the oath of supremacy, and then entered into the Assembly."

As they take their seats—hats on, according to an ancient custom—let us have a closer look at these Englishmen chosen by their fellows to make a beginning of self-government in the country known throughout the world today as the Land of the Free.

Governor Yeardley's knighthood has been earned. He is a trained soldier—having been an officer in the wars of Holland against Spain. He has already served Virginia well as a member of the Council of State and as Acting Governor. The marriage, after a while, of his cousin to the mother of a little boy by the name of John Harvard will give him for future readers of history a slight, but interesting, link with New England.

Among members of the Council, Captain Francis West is a brother of Lord Delaware. He settled West Hundred—the plantation to become widely known as historic "Westover."

Master Ralph Hamor has been Secretary of State for the colony, and is the author of a "Relation," which is to be a

valuable source of information for future students of early settlement days.

Master John Rolfe has made himself famous by marrying Powhatan's daughter, and useful by successful experiments in tobacco culture. A sword, or to be more literal, a tomahawk, hangs over his head, though happily for his peace of mind he does not know it—for notwithstanding his connection with the Indians, he will be murdered by them in the massacre of March, 1622.

Captain Nathaniel Powell was a "first settler." He explored York River with Smith, and Chesapeake Bay with Newport—making notes which were used by Captain Smith in his celebrated "Historie of Virginia." Both he and his wife will be victims of the massacre.

Captain Samuel Maycock is "a Cambridge scholar." For this inoffensive lover of books also, the red man gleefully whets his deadly tomahawk.

The Rev. William Wickham is a gentleman of good family and a clergyman of the Church of England.

The Secretary-Speaker, John Pory, is a Master of Arts of Cambridge. As he has been a member of the House of Commons, his knowledge of parliamentary law and proceedings is to prove valuable in helping the councillors and burgesses to conduct the Assembly according to form.

And now for a glance at the burgesses.

"James City" is represented by "Ensign Spence," and doughty Captain William Powell—famous in the colony as an Indian fighter.

Captains Samuel Sharp and Samuel Jordan, of "Jordan's Journey" plantation, who represent Charles City, came over early. Captain Jordan is the husband of the fascinating dame, Cicely Jordan, who, as his widow, is to become the first American belle on record. Her career as a heart-breaker will cause a future General Assembly to pass a law against flirting, for the protection of love-sick Virginia bachelors, and give her a permanent place in history.

For Kecoughtan appear Captain William Tucker, a leading merchant of the colony, and William Capps, who came over in 1607.

NICHOLAS FERRAR, JR.

It is interesting to note among the members of this Legislature, which was the foundation stone of American democracy, a "Mr. Jefferson," an English merchant. He and Governor Yeardley's nephew, "Ensigne Rossingham," represent Flowerdieu Hundred.

Captain Christopher Lawne, who, with "Ensign Washer," represents Lawne's Plantation, was formerly a member of the Puritan Church at Amsterdam.

Members for Smith's Hundred are "Mr. Walter Shelley" —an early settler—and Captain Thomas Graves, who came over in 1607, and is destined to serve the colony long and honorably.

From Martin's Hundred have come "Mr. John Boys"— still another victim-to-be of the massacre—and John Juxon, a kinsman of Bishop Juxon.

Members from Argall's Gift are "Mr. Gourgainy" and Captain Thomas Paulett, a great-grandson of the first Marquis of Winchester.

"Captain Warde" represents Warde's Plantation, his own large patent. His colleague is "Lieutenant Gibbes," son of Mr. Thomas Gibbes, of the Virginia Company of London.

Of Thomas Dowse and John Polentine, who sit for "the City of Henricus," we only know that their fellow planters of that borough chose them.

Slight as are these bits of testimony from the early records, they give an impression of a personable body of men, equal to the responsibility with which they were entrusted by those who knew them best. Before they got down to work a scene was enacted which showed that the traditional American spirit of fair play to all and special privileges to none was as unmistakably present in this germ of free government as it has since proved to be in the fully developed product. Governor Yeardley called attention to a clause in Captain John Martin's patent exempting his borough "from any command of the colony expect it be ayding and assisting the same against any forren or domestical enemy."

The "honorable" councillors and "worthy" burgesses were of the opinion that the clause gave Captain Martin and his settlers at historic "Brandon" the privilege of choosing whether

or not they would obey laws about to be made for the whole colony. Captain Martin was a man of prominence and of property. Yet he was promptly summoned before the Assembly and informed that he must either give up the objectionable clause or withdraw his burgesses. He declined to give up the clause and his burgesses were excluded from the session.

The Assembly opened upon Friday, July 30, and sat through the following Wednesday—five sweltering mid-summer days. But notwithstanding temperature which caused "the alteration of the healthes of divers present," much interesting business was transacted. Laws which smack of our modern war measures regulated planting and trade, fixed the price of tobacco, and made the killing of cattle illegal. And now was laid down America's first "slacker" law. If any man in the colony should be known to live in idleness the court was to appoint for him "a master whom he was to serve for wages until he shewe apparent signes of amendment."

To prevent extravagance in dress, every man was to be taxed according to the value of the clothes he wore to church. "If he be unmarried, according to his own apparel; if he be married, according to ihs own and his wife's."

"On Sundays," declared another law, "all persons whatsoever must frequent divine service and sermons, both forenoon and afternoon, and all such as bear arms shall bring their pieces, swords, powder and shot." This was, of course, by way of preparedness against Indian surprise. It was enacted that "no injury or oppression be wrought by the English against the Indians whereby the present peace might be disturbed and ancient quarrels might be revived." Also that "each town, city, borough and particular plantation do obtain unto themselves by just means a certain number of the natives' children to be educated by them in true religion and civil course of life—of which children the most towardly boys in wit and graces of nature to be brought up by them in the first elements of literature so as to be fitted for the college intended for them."

Ministers and church wardens were to prevent immorality by "good admonitions and mild reproof," but sinners who persisted in their evil ways were to be presented for trial, and punished according ot their offenses. Continued persistence in their "enormous sins" was to be punished by excommunication.

For drunkenness the culprit ("if a private person") was to be reproved by the minister—privately for the first offense, publicly for the second. For the third he was to "lie in bolts twelve hours in the house of the provost marshal, and pay his fee." If an officer "offend in this crime," private rebuke for the first offense should come from the Governor himself; for the second, reproof from the minister should be delivered "openly in the church." For the third, the offender should be thrown into jail and deprived of his rank. "Against gaming with dice and cards" it was enacted that "the winner or winners shall lose all his or their winnings." Both winners and losers were to be fined ten shillings each, "one ten shillings whereof was to go to the discoverer and the rest to pious uses."

Among petitions sent to the Virginia Company in London was one providing that in the allotment of land to the planters, each male child born in Virginia should be given one share for himself and one share for his wife—for herself—"because that in a new plantation it is not known whether a man or woman be the more necessary." Another interesting petition asked that the company would send over for the erection of the proposed "university and college" at Henricopolis "workmen of all sorts fit for that purpose."

After sweating and stewing, battling with flies and mosquitoes to the limit of endurance, the Assembly finally adjourned on the afternoon of August 4, to meet again in the following March.

And so passed into history the gathering at little Jamestown, in Virginia, which was the beginning of American democracy.

It is interesting to know that at a meeting of the Executive Council of the Virginia Company of London, held at the

house of Sir Edwin Sandys, the grant of February, 1620, assuring the Pilgrims privileges of self-government similar to those already granted the Virginia colony was "examined and sealed in view of and with the approbation of the members present."

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE VALLEY*

By Charles E. Kemper, Staunton, Va.

The Blue Ridge Range of mountains bound the Valley of Virginia on the east and southeast, and the boundries of the counties which lie at its base on the western side extend to the top of the mountains.

In 1608, Captain John Smith ascended the Rappahannock River on an exploring expedition and reached a point about 26 miles above the present Fredericksburg, Virginia. He certainly went far enough to see the Blue Ridge. On this expedition, he encountered a band of Indians and had a fight with them, and in the engagement captured one of them. Capt. Smith inquired of the Indian as to what lay beyond the mountain, to which the Indian replied that he did not know "because the woods were not burnt." Based upon these facts, the statement can be fairly and positively made that Capt. Smith and his party in 1608 were the first white men who saw the mountain tops of the present Clarke and Warren counties in the lower Valley of Virginia.

The statement of the Indian that the "woods were not burnt" beyond the mountains also indicate that the valley was then a forest country to a considerable extent, which was not the

* The chief purpose of this article is to give in salient outline the history of the settlement of the Valley of Virginia, with such information as the writer possesses concerning the early exploration of this section before its permanent settlement by the white race. Many additional details could be given, but lack of space forbids. The reader who cares to pursue the subject further will find in the series of articles entitled "The Early Westward Movement of Virginia, 1721-1734", by the writer, which appeared in volumes 12 and 13 of this magazine, much *minutiae* of detail not contained in this article. The effort has been made to present this narrative in such a way as to interest the reader without burdening the subject with too much detail.

C. E. K.

case when the first settlers located there. Much of the valley had been denuded of its timber by the Iroquois Indians in their wars with the native tribes and after they had conquered the Valley Indians in 1671-1674, they regularly each fall when the hunting season was over fired the woods and grass in order to keep the woods open and thus make it easier to pursue game.[1]

The first authentic notice of the valley of Virginia by the white man dates back to the year 1632. Samuel Champlain, the French explorer of the north and northwest part of New York, had a map engraved in Paris in that year which shows the colony of Virginia. These expeditions of Champlain were in 1606-1609, but his map bears the date given above. Champlain never visited Virginia in person and the Virginia section of his map was in all possibility based upon explorations made by the Jesuit missionaries who visited Jamestown, Virginia, some years prior to 1632 or by missionaries of that faith who accompanied war and hunting parties of the Iroquois Indians to the Valley of Virginia. The section of the map which shows the Valley of Virginia clearly delineates the country from the present Harpers Ferry, W. Virginia to the present Port Republic in Rockingham county, and in the upper valley to the North and James Rivers in Rockbridge county. The Potomac and the Shenandoah rivers are shown on the map, and there could be no doubt of the fact that the Valley of Virginia was visited, and to some extent explored by white men prior to the year 1632. Jesuit Missionaries settled among the Iroquois Indians shortly after Champlain's expedition and these Indians were then at war with the Catawba Indians of eastern North Carolina, and that was before the settlement of Jamestown in 1607.[2] One of the war trails of the Five Nations was through the Valley of Virginia and the probabilities are that the missionaries came with a war or hunting party from New York to the Valley.

In 1707, John Lederer, a German, explored the western

[1] See Mooney, *Siouan Tribes of the East*, page 20; also *The Fauquier Historical Bulletin* No. 1, and Tyler's *Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, July number, 1920.

[2] See this Magazine, October number, 1921, for Champlain's map and some notes used therein.

portion of Virginia, and he gives an account which was generally accepted as descriptive of the Virginia valley, but his general narrative seems apocryphal and his statements should be accepted with some reserve.

In 1707, the Valley was visited by Louis Michell, a Swiss explorer, who came down from Lancaster county, Pa., and proceeded up the Valley certainly as far as the present Edinburg in the present Shenandoah county. His admirable map with some notes based thereon appeared in this magazine in the April number, 1921.

In 1716, Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, visited the Valley with a party of 41 persons, composed of gentlemen, rangers, guides, and Indians. The evidence is clear that this expedition crossed the Blue Ridge, through Swift Run Gap and followed Elk Run down to the Shenandoah river. Spotswood crossed the Shenandoah at Conrad's Ford about three-quarters of a mile west of present Elkton, Virginia, in the present Rockingham county, Va., and halted there, but the rangers went further in the Valley.

Spotswood's romantic order, "The Knights of the Golden Horseshoe" was founded upon this expedition; and that he commemorated it in this manner is proved by the fact that at the Albany Conference, (1722) with the Iroquois Indians, he took from his breast a small Golden Horse Shoe and gave it to an Indian Chief, saying that when the Indians came to Virginia they should bring it with them and that this golden horseshoe would enable them to cross the mountain more easily, meaning that it would be a passport of protection to them in Eastern Virginia.[3]

In the year 1717, the valley of the southern boundary of Virginia was visited by white men and these facts prove that by the year last mentioned the northern end of Shenandoah Valley of Virginia was explored.[4]

As stated in *"Some Valley Notes"* which appeared in the October Number, 1921, of this magazine, there is some evidence which tends to show that a white settlement existed at

[3] See *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York.* Albany, 1855, Vol. 5, p. 677.
[4] See this Magazine, July number, 1921.

the present Shepherdstown, West Virginia, as early as 1719, but the evidence is not conclusive, and Dr. Graham's account of this settlement must be accepted with reserve.

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to notice the causes which led to the settlement of the Virginia Valley. Events which occurred in the British Kingdom and upon the continent of Europe, far distant from Virginia, were the impelling causes which led to the settlement of the Valley.

The wars between France and the Germans, which commenced in 1684, started in the Rhine valley and continued with intermissions until 1709, and which resulted in the practical destruction of the Lower Palatinate, brought the German element first to Pennsylvania and then to the Virginia valley. The restrictive and unwise laws of the British Parliament, during the reign of William and Mary, Queen Anne and George I, with reference to the Scotch Presbyterians in the Province of Ulster, Ireland, brought them to America by the tens of thousands, chiefly to Pennsylvania in the north, and from that colony to the Valley of Virginia. Although they had always been intensely loyal to the House of Stuart, and then to William and Mary, Queen Anne and George I, their trade and commerce commenced to interfere with that of England proper and prohibitory tariff laws were passed, which practically destroyed their trade with England and Scotland.[8] This and other causes, not necessary to mention, led to the migration of the Ulster Scotch to America.

This brings the narrative to the pioneer settler of the Valley of Virginia. His name was Adam Müller, who was born in Schresheim,[9] Baden, Germany, Nov. 3, 1703; but his father, John Peter Müller lived in Lambsheim in the adjacent Palatinate and Adam Müller evidently grew to manhood in that place. In 1724, he came with his wife, Barbara, to America and first settled in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, and in 1727 he removed to Virginia, and settled first on the Hawksbill Creek in

[8] See for this subject generally *Macaulay's History of England;* also Mr. de Graffenreid's account of the founding of Newbern, N. C., recently published by the North Carolina Historical Commission.

[9] The facts relating to Adam Müller's birth-place and residence in Germany were obtained by the writer from the pastor of the Evangelical Protestant Church at Schresheim.

the present county of Page. In 1724, he purchased 820 acres of land on the Shenandoah river from Joseph Bloodsworth, which included the site of present Elkton, in the present county of Rockingham, Va., and he built his home at the Great Bear Lithia Spring, which was a part of his estate, and acquired other lands by purchase and patent; and at his death, owned a splendid estate of more than 1300 acres on the Shenandoah river. On March 13, 1742,[7] he was naturalized by Gov. Gooch and the certificate of his naturalization is still in existence, owned by his great-great-grand-daughter, Miss Elizabeth B. Miller, who lives at "Green Meadows" on a portion of his estate. His naturalization certificate states that Adam Miller was a native of the place mentioned above and had settled for 15 years prior to that date on the Shenandoah in the colony of Virginia. This gives the year 1727 as the year of his arrival in Virginia and fixes the date of the first settlement in the Valley of Virginia. Adam Müller died in 1783, aged 80 years and his son-in-law, Jacob Bear, qualified as his administrator. His signature both in German and English is of record in Augusta county, Virginia, and indicates a man of good common school education. This is a brief account of the man who was the first vidette of civilization in the Valley of Virginia as shown by authentic records. If any error exists in this statement, the error is due to the record itself.

In 1729, Jacob Stover, a native of Switzerland, visited the Shenandoah Valley and on June 5, 1730, obtained from the Virginia Council, two grants of land on the Shenandoah and its tributaries. The lower grant commenced about one mile below Bear Lithia Spring in the present Rockingham county and extended down the river to about the present Massanutten in present Page county. The upper grant commenced at the mouth of Cub Run in present Rockingham county and extended up the Shenandoah to the present Port Republic, and then up South River near the present Weyers Cave.[8]

The upper grant also included the Cub Run valley to the foot of the Peaked Mountain, near present Penn Laird, and

[7] For Adam Müller's certificate of naturalization, see *William and Mary College Quarterly*, Vol. 9, p. 132.

[8] See this Magazine, Vol. 13, p. 120.

the Mill Creek valley to the present Hering estate on the Keezletown road one and one-half miles northeast of Cross Keys, and some of the finest farming land is in these two grants. In the year 1730, Adam Müller was joined by other settlers who came to Virginia from Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Their names were Abram Strickler, Mathias Selzer, Phillip Lung (Long), Paul Lung (Long), John Rood (Rhodes), and Michael Kauffman. They purchased 4000 acres of the lower grant from Jacob Stover, and their homes were on and near the Shenandoah river from a point about a mile below Bear Lithia Spring in the present Rockingham county to the present Massanutten in Page county, Virginia. This locality took and retained its Indian name, Massanutten, and the evidence of the records gives to it precedence as the place of first settlement in the Valley of Virginia made by white men.*

While the first settlers of the Valley were Germans and Scotch-Irish, people in eastern Virginia were among the first land prospectors in that section. In 1727, Robert Brooke, William Lynn and others petitioned the Virginia Council for 50,000 acres of land on the waters of the James and Cow Pasture River in the present counties of Rockbridge and Bath; and in 1720, Larkin Chew and others petitioned for five thousand acres of land on Happy Creek, in the present county of Warren, Virginia. Col. Robert Carter, of Lancaster county, Virginia, was among the early land prospectors in the Valley of Virginia and so was William Beverley. All these men lived east of the Blue Ridge, and William Beverley found this initial and date: "R. C., 1729", carved on a tree in the Winchester section. These were the initials of Col. Robert Carter and 1729 was the date of his visit to the Valley prospecting for land. In 1730 a grant of 50,112 acres of land was made to Landon and George Carter, sons of Col. Carter. This grant was in the present counties of Frederick, Clarke, and Warren, and lay chiefly on the northwestern side of the Shenandoah. In 1730, a large grant of land was made to Mann Page, Esquire, of Rosewell, Virginia, which lay chiefly in the present county

* See this Magazine, Vol. 13, pp. 120-1-2-3.

of Jefferson, W. Va., and included the present site of Harpers Ferry.[10]

In the fall of 1731, Jost Hite, a native of Strasburg, Germany, brought a colony of Germans to the Valley which settled at and near the present Winchester. Prior to his removal to Virginia, Hite was a resident of Philadelphia county, Pennsylvania, and by the year 1734, fifty-four families were living in the vicinity of present Winchester.

In 1734-1735 a colony of Friends or Quakers also settled in the present Frederick county, then Orange, and the lower valley was in a sense a settled country. Waddell and other annalists of Augusta county, state that John Lewis, the pioneer, who settled in Augusta county, came in 1732, but they offer no evidence of the fact except tradition. John Lewis first appeared in Virginia in 1737 when the council voted a supply of ammunition for defence against the Indians, and he was then a Captain of Militia in Orange county, of which Augusta county was then a part.

In 1736, Sir John Randolph, and others obtained a grant of 118,491 acres of land, including the present site of Staunton, and surrounding county and in 1739, Benjamin Borden obtained a grant of 99,291 acres of land which lay in the southwestern portion of present Augusta and in present Rockbridge counties. The Randolph grant was soon conveyed to William Beverley,[11] of Essex county, Virginia, and he and Borden went actively to work to locate settlers upon their land. They worked in Lancaster, Chester and adjoining counties in the eastern part of Pennsylvania through agents and by posting circulars descriptive of the unsettled Valley.

The tide of Scotch-Irish immigration to the Valley commenced in 1738 and was at its height from 1740 to 1745. They came chiefly from Chester, Lancaster, and adjacent counties in the southeastern part of Pennsylvania, and the country around Staunton was well settled by the year 1745.

[10] See this Magazine, Vol. 13, p. 117.

[11] The Beverley Manor grant was made August 12, 1736, to Sir John Randolph, John Robertson, and Richard Randolph. It contained 118,491 acres. William Russell and Robert Brooke then purchased the Randolph and Robertson interests, which were three-fourths of the grant and then in turn conveyed their interests to William Beverley.

Augusta and Rockbridge was settled almost entirely by the Scotch-Irish, and until 1750 the present county of Rockingham had a majority of the same race. They came on horse-back, and their effects were brought on pack-horses.

These are the salient facts in the history of the Valley of Virginia to the year 1745. Much more could be added, but these details have been published and therefore, this article is not burdened with them.

Frederick county was organized in 1743 and Augusta in 1745, and until 1769, when Botetourt was created they were the only counties in the Valley. Until 1755 the dividing line between them was the Narrow Passage Creek in present Shenandoah county, Virginia, but in that year the line was changed and the old Fairfax line, which crosses the main valley about two miles southwest of New Market, became the county line.

The records of Augusta county show that nearly all the German and Scotch-Irish who settled in the Virginia valley, had been taught trades, as was common in the British Islands and on the continent of Europe at that period. They were millers, wagon-makers, cabinet-makers, weavers, auctioneers, brick-layers, and in fact, all the then existing trades were found among them.

The pioneers of the Valley of Virginia were sincerely Christian people, the Scotch-Irish were Presbyterians; the Germans were German Reformed and Lutherans in their church affiliations. The Opequon church in present Frederick county, Virginia, was the first Presbyterian congregation in the Valley. In 1736, the Rev. Mr. Williams was the pastor of this church, but he had difficulties with his congregation in 1738 and he does not appear after that date as a minister. The records of Orange county, Virginia, indicate he was more a trader or merchant than a preacher. Rev. John Craig was the first regularly settled minister in the Valley. He was born in county Armagh, Ireland, in 1709; educated at the University of Edinburg, Scotland, from which he graduated with the degree of Master of Arts. He came to America in 1736 and settled in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania. In 1740, Donegal Presbytery in that colony directed him to accept a call from the

Presbyterians in the upper valley of Virginia. He came in the fall of 1740 and founded Augusta church, about 8 miles northeast of Staunton. In 1741 he organized the Tinkling Spring congregation, near Fishersville, Virginia, and continued to serve as pastor of that church until 1766 when he retired from that pastorate, but continued to serve Augusta church until his death in 1774. The Rev. John Hindman, born in Londonderry, Ireland, came to America in 1739, and settled in Chester county, Pennsylvania. In 1742, he was sent by the Donegal Presbytery to the Valley and he preached at various places. In 1745, he organized the Peaked Mountain Church (now Massanutten Church) near Cross Keys in the present Rockingham, and was its first pastor. This is the oldest of all the churches in that county. In the fall of 1746, Mr. Hindman went to London, England, and was there ordained as a Priest of the Established Church. On April 5, 1747, he was accepted as the first rector of Augusta parish. He continued to live with his Presbyterian friends in the present Rockingham county and died at the residence of John Stevenson, in October, 1748. He was a "racing parson" and owned at his death twenty-nine horses and colts, and a "Jockey coat".[12] On the Stevenson place, now owned by the heirs of Dr. E. A. Hering, there is a level stretch of land which has been called from time out of mind "the race track" and there, no doubt, Mr.Hindman won his racing victories and suffered his defeats.[13] Rev. Alexander Miller, a native of the Parish of Ardstraw, Ireland, succeeded Mr. Hindman as pastor of Peaked Mountain and served until 1766, when he was deposed from the ministry for cause by Hanover Presbytery. In 1769, Rev. Thomas Jackson was installed as pastor of the Peaked Mountain church and continued to serve until his death in 1773. In 1747, Rev. John Brown became pastor of the Timber Ridge church in the present county of Rockbridge, and in 1752, Rev. Alex. Craighead came and took charge of several places of worship in the present

[12] See *The Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, March number, 1921, for the account of the Peaked Mountain Church.

[13] The appraisement of Rev. John Hindman's estate, Nov. 29, 1749, shows he owned twenty-seven horses and colts, ministerial gowns, sermon books, a jockey coat, and a pair of leather breeches. Will Book 1, page 199.

county of Bath. These were the first regularly settled ministers in the upper valley of Virginia.

The Lutherans had no regular pastor among them until 1758, when the Rev. Lawrence Wartman came from Lancaster, Pa., and served at the Peaked Mountain Lutheran Church, McGaheyville, Virginia, for a short time and then removed to South Carolina.

The first settled pastor of the German Reformed Church in the entire valley was Rev. Phillip Charles Van Gemunden. He came in the fall of 1762 and bought a farm on Fort Run in the vicinity of present Timberville, in the present Rockingham county. He served as pastor of Raiders' church near that place, and also the congregation at McGaheyville. He died in 1764 and his will is recorded at Staunton.

These were the first pioneer ministers regularly settled in the Virginia Valley and their labors among the early settlers entitle them to this mention.

By the year 1750, the Valley from Harpers Ferry to Roanoke was a settled pioneer country and settlers were still coming, chiefly from Pennsylvania, and it was a land of busy endeavor. They were building houses and barns; opening roads; building mills and churches; and establishing schools to give their children at least a common school education. The map which appears in the July number of this magazine shows the first wagon road in the Valley. In 1736 it crossed the Potomac at Williamsport, Md., and came up the valley following in the main the line of the present Valley Turnpike. The Court Orders of Augusta County show that the road leading to Staunton from Pennsylvania was called the "King's Highway" and the "Great Road," while Thomas Lewis,[14] the County Surveyor of Augusta county refers to it as "the road to Frederick" (Winchester).

[14] One of the most interesting documents in the records of Augusta county, Virginia, is the entry book of Thomas Lewis, County Surveyor from 1744-1748, now in the office of the present County Surveyor, Mr. E. E. McCutchan, to whom the writer is much indebted for assistance and many courtesies. This record contains about 320 pages, and the entries show the locality of nearly all the older families in the upper valley, and it is a mine of information with reference to early names of the rivers, creeks, and other natural objects. The location of some of the forts in the French and Indian War are shown, and deposits of coal and iron, stone quarries are also located.

This road left the line of the present Valley Turnpike at Mt. Sidney, Augusta county, Virginia, and, crossing the North river at Rockland Mills, passed through the villages of Cross Keys, Keezletown, and united with the "King's Highway" near present Lacey Springs, in the present county of Rockingham, Virginia. There was also "a Pennsylvania road" and "an Irish Path" in Augusta and Rockingham, and a "Pennsylvania Ford" just below Mt. Meridian in Augusta county, Virginia, gives an echo to this day of the fact that the settlers in that locality came from Pennsylvania.

William Wright is the earliest schoolmaster who appears upon the records of Augusta county, Virginia. He was teaching on Linville Creek in 1743. Samuel Vance comes next, teaching in Augusta county in 1744. In 1747, Robert Alexander founded a classical school near Greenville, Augusta county, which was the genesis of present Washington and Lee University at Lexington. Rev. John Craig was one of the earliest teachers in Augusta, and James Anderson founded the Anderson school prior to 1755 and was still teaching it in 1774-1775-1776. The records show that prior to 1765, there were certainly thirteen English schools and four German schools in the counties of Augusta, Rockbridge, and Rockingham, and the autograph signatures of many pupils of these schools show that they received good training.

The pioneer settlers of the valley at first traded almost entirely at New Castle and Delaware, at Lancaster and Warwick in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania. Then they shifted to Williamsburg, Falmouth and Fredericksburg, Virginia, and by the year 1765, Richmond had become their principal trading place.

Their chief products for market were butter, cheese, ginsing, hemp, skins and furs,[15] and their merchants bought liberally of the best English manufactures upon the market.

[15] Early suit records of Augusta county, Virginia, show that wolves, deer, and elks abounded in the valley, also the beaver, and the black fox, and for many years, the skins and furs of these animals was the source of a considerable revenue. This continued until after the Revolution, and the valley was visited regularly by traders from Pennsylvania who came to purchase skins and furs. The fact that a buffalo hide was worth only 33 1-3c in 1739, shows how plentiful the buffalo abounded in the valley. As to the buffalo, see inventory of James Coburn's estate in 1749, Augusta County Records, Will Book 1.

In 1763, the women in the valley were wearing silks, velvets, satin, shalloons, taffeta, for Sunday clothes, and their every-day dresses were made of gingham and calico. For similar occasions, the men wore black, blue, brown and scarlet broadcloth, and for daily wear, the German and English serges.[17]

It was the custom of the early settlers to wear caps in the summer and silk caps and handkerchiefs were in common vogue in the Valley in 1765. The first homes were cabins built of logs, after the "Virginia manner of building" generally 16 x 20' in dimensions. But after 1745, they commenced to build good and comfortable homes, generally of logs, but weatherboarded, ceiled, and plastered. Many of the old homes were of considerable dimensions. The writer was born in the old Stevenson house which has been mentioned as Mr. Hindman's place of residence. The main house was built prior to 1756 and stood until 1870. It was a good type of the best class of Valley houses built prior to 1756. This house was about 80' long; 2 stories high; 20 feet wide; one story was built of heart pine logs, weatherboarded, ceiled, and plastered; with two stone chimneys—a pleasant and comfortable home in winter and summer. The improvement cabin stood immediately in the rear of the main house, and was a log structure about 40 feet square, not weatherboarded; with an immense stone chimney and fire place, equipped with hooks, pots, and cranes; and the writer well remembers that the first cook stove was brought into this house in the year 1867. The reader will please pardon these somewhat personal historical statements, but it is the best and truest knowledge in his possession, relative to the type of permanent Valley homes built by the larger pioneer land owners.

The principal crops raised in the valley preceding the year 1765 were wheat, corn, rye, barley, oats, flax, and some cotton was raised as early as 1747. In the year 1747, Thomas Harris owned a cotton patch on Linville's Creek in the present Rock-

[17] The inventory of James Leister a Staunton merchant, recorded May 13, 1761, in the Clerk's Office of Augusta county, Will Book 3, pp. 150-154, shows practically every article of merchandise used by the pioneer at that period, and the prevailing prices.

ingham county, Virginia. They had horses and cattle in large numbers and the cattle were driven to southeastern Pennsylvania for sale. Many of the horses were allowed to run wild in the woods and sometimes days were spent in hunting for them. Wheat brought 50c. a bushel, corn 16 2/3c. a bushel; stock cattle generally sold at $10.00 a head and horses sold at about $40.00. These were the average prices. By the year 1765, the valley was settled country, although much public land still remained ungranted.[18]

The pioneers of the valley lived well and comfortably after the year 1745. They used liquors freely, and Madeira wine was consumed in large quantities, and still the records do not indicate that drunkenness prevailed to any great extent. They were quite litigious and the original suit records in the Clerk's office of Augusta county, Virginia, show in many instances the place of residence before coming to Virginia.[19] The Allen and Anderson families of Augusta county, Va., came either from Lancaster or Chester county, Pennsylvania, and so did the Bell and Curry families. The Craig family came from Kennet Square, Chester county, Pa., and the Caldwell family came from Ballibagan, Londonderry county, Ireland, to Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, and then to Augusta county, Virginia.

The Francisco family came from Lancaster county, Pa., and the McClures from Bucks county, Pa. The Francis family came from Chester county, Pa. The McCues came from Lancaster, Pa., and the Lairds either from Lancaster or Chester in that colony. The Crawford family came from Lancaster Co., Pennsylvania, and so did the Alexanders and Pattersons. This list could be much extended and the facts stated have been gathered from the old suit records of Augusta county, Virginia.

The Scotch-Irish were pre-eminently dominant in Augusta, Rockbridge, and the present county of Rockingham until 1750

[18] See Survey Book 1, page 42, Augusta county, Virginia, records, which shows a survey of 120 acres for Thomas Harris, in which Harris' cotton patch is mentioned, dated March 29, 1750. Will Book 1, page 177, Augusta county, Virginia records.

[19] The original land records on file in the office of the County Clerk of Augusta county, Virginia, show the facts stated above. The papers can be found without much difficulty by consulting the indexes of the county order books.

when the Germans gained ascendency in the latter county. Page and Shenandoah were essentially German colonies and these facts were true in part of Frederick and Berkley. In Clark, Warren and Jefferson, the English element were in majority. This tells in salient outline, the history of the settlement of the valley of Virginia and something of pioneer life, as it existed there prior to 1765. The descendants of Valley pioneers are to be found all over the south and west, especially in South Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee and Ohio. They were a brave race and bore their part worthily in the French and Indian War. In the War of the Revolution, the Valley men served in large numbers in the regular and militia service, and took part in nearly all the principal engagements fought in the north and south, and they were at Yorktown in 1781 in full force. Nearly every family came from good, sound stock. They brought with them their pride of race and it is to their credit that they preserve it to this date.

BEFORE THE GATES OF THE WILDERNESS ROAD

THE SETTLEMENT OF SOUTHWESTERN VIRGINIA.

BY JUDGE LYMAN CHALKLEY.

In speaking of the conditions existing in Virginia and North Carolina immediately preceding the trip of Boone, when he is supposed to have blazed a trail through the mountains to Kentucky, which, after his time, came to be called "The Wilderness Road," Speed, in his history of that road, describes somewhat carefully a thoroughfare and highway from Philadelphia, through Winchester, Staunton and other points in the Shenandoah Valley, extending "to an important station at the waters of New River which run to the west. At that point another road which led out from Richmond through the central parts of Virginia intersected the one just described. Thus were brought together two tides of immigrants. Near the forks of the road stood Fort Chissel, a rude blockhouse built in 1758, by Colonel Bird immediately after the British and Americans captured Fort Duquesne from the French." And the same authority says further: "Beside the road which passed along the Valley of Virginia, and the one which ran out from Richmond to the intersection at New River, there were other traveled ways or traces which led up to Cumberland Gap from the Carolinas and through the mountains of East Tennessee." He concludes: "Thus it appears that all the roads from the Atlantic States converged upon the points, Fort Pitt and Cumberland Gap." Of Fort Chissel [Chiswell] he says: "It is a point of great interest in studying the Kentucky immigration. It was there the immigrants reached the borders of the great wilderness. The wild, rough, dangerous part of the

journey commenced when New River was crossed at Inglis' Ferry, and the travelers turned squarely toward the setting sun."

Monette tells us, as of the year 1762, "the people from the sources of James were crossing the dividing ridges and descending upon the Greenbrier, New River and other tributaries of Kenhawa. Others from Roanoke and North Carolina were advancing westward upon the sources of the Stanton, Dan, Yadkin, Catawba and Broad, along the eastern base of the Blue Mountains, with wistful eyes upon the beautiful country of the Cherokees." And again Monette says, as of 1767: "Settlements were now advancing rapidly from the eastern portions of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, and emigrants were pressing forward upon the upper tributaries of the Monongahela and upon the great branches of Cheat River. On the south, the frontier counties of Virginia and North Carolina were pouring forth their hardy pioneers who were still advancing and already settling the fertile regions upon the headwaters of New River, as well as upon the sources of Greenbrier. Others full of enterprise and western adventure were exploiting the country drained by the great branches of Clinch River, and were forming remote, isolated settlements in Powell's Valley, still further north and west, and also upon the waters of the North Fork of Holston, in the regions near the present towns of Abingdon and Wytheville.

"The counties of Rockbridge, Augusta, Greenbrier and Frederick were frontier regions, occupied by a sparse population, exposed to the dangers of savage massacre; the towns of Staunton, Lexington, and Winchester were remote frontier trading posts, inhabited by few persons, who formed a connecting link between the Indians and the eastern people of Virginia."

So far, the references have been to that portion of the territory which lies within the present borders of the State of Virginia. To the south of the present Virginia-Tennessee line lay a narrow strip running northeast and southwest, mountain and valley, watered by the Holston, Clinch and Powell rivers. This is a continuation of the same fertile valleys and rugged mountains of the Virginia side, where all these rivers have their rise. This district north (that is, west) of the Holston

was at first believed to be within the boundaries of Virginia, and settlers acted accordingly. They pre-empted their lands under Virginia laws and protection. They formed the Watauga Association, according to Phelan, in 1772. He tells us: "But a still more serious trouble was impending over the infant communities. About 1769 Colonel Donelson had made a treaty with the Indians by which Virginia bought what was called the western frontiers. By this treaty, it was supposed that the Watauga region went to that colony. Believing themselves in Virginia, the Watauga people supposed themselves governed by Virginia laws, and looked to that State or colony for protection against Indian aggressions and the raids of horse thieves. North Carolina, herself, took no steps looking to the exercise of any authority over the settlements, many of which had been made in violation of the treaty with the Cherokees at Lochaber in 1770. It had everything to lose and nothing to gain by recognizing them as being on North Carolina territory, which recognition would carry with it the obligation of protecting them against the inroads of the Indians."

These extracts from familiar authorities have been quoted in the hope that through their means would be recalled most readily that portion of the sources of the Ohio which lies in the extreme southwestern corner of the present State of Virginia and the extreme northeastern corner of Tennessee contiguous. This section had been known to the white, and a path marked out by travel certainly fifteen years prior to the earliest date that has been mentioned. It also appears that there was an established traffic over this district between the whites of the eastern settlements and the Cherokees as early as 1740. Heyward is authority for it that: "A Mr. Vaughan, of Amelia County, Virginia, went, in 1740, as a packman with traders to the Cherokees. He found the country west of Amelia sparsely inhabited, the last hunter's cabin he saw was on Otter River, a branch of Stanton (Roanoke) now in Bedford County (which lies east of the Blue Ridge). He described the trading path from Virginia, crossing New River, English's Ferry, Seven Mile Ford on the Holston, Grassy Springs, Nolichucky and the French Broad." In 1741, John Smith, Zachariah Lewis, William Waller, Benjamin Waller, Robert Green and

James Patton were granted an order of Council of Virginia for one hundred thousand acres on James River and Roanoke, and extending to and including waters of the Indian or New River. Patton was manager and employed Smith, who was the Colonel John Smith who was captured by Indians and had many experiences which are familiar. These two were occupied in inducing immigration until 1751. Patton eventually bought out all the patentees except Smith and Lewis. These were the worthies of the land in their generation, and many incidents in their careers might be detailed. They were of the Scotch-Irish settlers in the Shenandoah, the center of which was Augusta County, from whose records the data here presented will be mainly taken. This county was formed in 1745 and until 1769 included all the territory that has been mentioned. The records of the District and Superior Courts having jurisdiction over practically the same territory until nearly 1800 are also there. Prior to 1745 there are perhaps additional data of record in Orange County and at Richmond which have not been carefully examined, but the writer had not had access to them. Perhaps, also, much could be gathered from the files of the courts of Fincastle, Botetourt and Washington counties, which were all erected early from the territory of Augusta, but they are not readily accessible. No doubt, the papers of Lunenburg and other counties adjacent on the east, on the other slope of the Blue Ridge, would contain material and incident. The investigator is confined for the present to the movement of that body already mentioned, who migrated in mass from Pennsylvania into the Shenandoah Valley, blazing the way, settling and cultivating the soil, driving out the Indians, establishing churches and schools and a distinctive civilization, making clear and safe the avenue right up to the very entrance of the wilderness. These hardy, courageous, prudent, foresighted people were fortified and prepared by long tradition of migration and colonization, of coveting the land and driving out the Canaanites. The conditions were somewhat analogous in America and in Ireland. Their historian in Kentucky says: "After the subjugation of Ulster, in the reign of James I, the semi-barbarous natives were replaced by a colony of tenants from Great Britain, attracted thither by liberal grants of land."

Smyth says of them: "The more decidedly a man is Presbyterian, the more decidedly is he a Republican." Davidson says: "The Presbyterians of Virginia, like the rest of their brethren were marked by an inextinguishable love of liberty, and during the Revolution were staunch Republicans to a man. At the very first meeting of the Presbytery of Hanover after the Declaration of Independence, they sent a memorial to the House of Delegates identifying themselves with the common cause. They presented others in 1777 and 1784, protesting against a general assessment for the support of religion. And still another petition in 1785, signed by 10,000 persons, was argued before the House of Delegates for three days. The main object of all these petitions was to complain of the partial and peculiar privileges still continued to the Episcopal, late the established church, and its vestrymen."

The Synod of Philadelphia, before the erection of the Virginia and Transylvania Synods (the Transylvania Synod included the churches and communities in Kentucky) had these worthy people under its immediate charge. The ecclesiastical patriarch of the flock was the Rev. John Craig. He has left a name and character of honor and a memory of worthy service. At an early time he was sent to visit the brethren on New River and Holston. On his return, he reported such a surprisingly large list of elders whom he had ordained in that sparsely settled region, that the Synod remonstrated and asked questions. He defended himself by saying, "Where I cudna get hewn stones, I tuk dornaks." Wherever they established a church they established a school. In 1774 those of the faith established two academies, one, Hampden-Sidney, in the eastern, and Liberty Hall (now Washington and Lee University) in the western part of the State, giving each a name indicative of their desire to be free.

The authorities of the colony of Virginia, in looking to the protection of its western frontier, had erected a series of forts on the "Western Waters," as this district was called. There were local stockades where the people gathered in time of peril, at various places. Indeed, nearly every early settlement seems to have been at some time looked upon as the fort of its own immediate vicinity. But they were not continuously occupied

for any considerable period by royal troops. Of these, the most prominent was Fort Lewis, a few miles east of the present town of Salem, in Roanoke County. At the time of Colonel Bird's [Byrd's] expedition against the southwestern Indians, this was the frontier settlement of Virginia. In August, 1760, Colonel John Smith, of the Virginia regiment under Byrd, sent out against the Cherokees, was in command at Fort Lewis. Captain John Blagg commanded a company under Smith. Joseph Ray was contractor and commissary for the army. In 1763, colonization had progressed so far that it was necessary to build a road between New River by Fort Chiswell to Fort Lewis. Notwithstanding the statement from Heyward that this was the frontier settlement in 1759, we should not take it that the country had not been settled before that time; for, in the records of the vestry of Augusta Parish, we find that William Bryan and Jas. Neilley were appointed processioners in 1747 for the country contiguous to the fort.

Vaux's Fort lay on the Roanoke, higher up. In 1756 it had been devastated by Indians and twenty-seven people were killed or taken prisoners. Heyward says that after this massacre there were left no settlers west of the Blue Ridge except a few men who worked at the lead mines. Shortly after Colonel Byrd's expeditions, however, that is in 1763, John Smyth, William Grymes, James Nealey and Israel Christian were appointed to view the roads that led from Vaux's over the New River on the lands of John Buchanan and likewise by Ingles' Ferry to the lead mines. And in 1767 James Neeley, Philip Love, William Christian and William Bryan were appointed viewers of a road from Vaux's by Ingles' Ferry to Peak Creek on the north side of New River. The petitioners were all men of note in the development of the country: Frederick Stern, Isaac Job, Thomas Grayson, John Bell, Henry Skaggs, Joseph Hix, John Draper, George Baker, Joseph Hord, Levy Smith, Erasmus Noble, Samuel Peffer, James Coudon, Edward Vansell, Humphrey Baker, Anthony Bledsoe, James Newell and Alexander Page.

Colonel Byrd, in 1758, built two forts at the command of the Colonial Government, Fort Chiswell, near the forks of the roads from Pennsylvania, and from Richmond, on the waters

of New River, and the fort at Long Island, on Holston River, in the present County of Sullivan, Tennessee. Monette states that this was the first fort established on the Holston. The year before, that is in 1757, Fort Loudoun was established by Andrew Lewis on the Tennessee River at the mouth of Tellico. It was afterwards known as Watauga. The next year, in 1758, 200 settlers went there in a body. Phelan states: "Fort Loudoun was garrisoned by royal troops, and the Cherokees, regarding it as a protection against the vengeance of the French offered donations of land to artisans as an inducement to come there. The warfare between the English and the French which raged in all parts of the world, was too far from the region of East Tennessee to affect it, otherwise than indirectly." It was the scene of a terrible massacre immediately after the reduction of Duquesne, the Cherokees captured it and all in the fort were destroyed. This fort has the distinction of having been manned by twelve cannon, which will testify to its importance. It was near the present city of Knoxville, the center of a district tacitly under the protection of the colony of Virginia, although none of the county governments exercised jurisdiction.

The most northerly limits of the section lying before Cumberland Gap and the entrance to the Wilderness Road are along the divide which separates the waters of the James and Roanoke (or Stanton) rivers, both of which take their rise west of the Blue Ridge Mountains and break through that range, flowing east and southeast; the sources of the Shenandoah and New Rivers (or Woods River) flowing north and northwest; and the Holston and its tributaries flowing south and southwest. The tide of migration had been steady from the beginning southwards from the Shenandoah Scotch-Irish settlements of Augusta. There was here the usual course of settlements following the streams and valleys. The leaders of this migration had kept in close touch with the authorities at Williamsburg, with which place communication was open and constant. Its general course seems to have been directed from the capital with decision, promptness and wisdom. Indeed, these leaders were men of large caliber and great force, and had a motive sufficiently exciting to keep them active. It must be admitted

that the main object of the leaders was self-aggrandizement. A bureaucracy and cabal were in complete control and there was the opportunity to establish families and fortune through grants of large tracts of land, which were no sooner marked out than they were taken under the military protection of the colony. The grant to Jas. Patton, Smith and Lewis and others of 100,000 acres in 1741 has already been mentioned This lay upon the headwaters of the Roanoke and James, and Monette says: "In none of the provinces had the infatuation for western lands been carried to a greater extent than in Virginia. Blair reported in 1757 to the Executive Council of Virginia that the quantity of lands then entered to companies and individuals amounted to three millions of acres, a large portion of which had been granted as early as 1754" The most important of these grants within the borders of the section now under consideration was that to the Loyal Company on the 12th of July, 1749. It was 800,000 acres beginning on the North Carolina (Tennessee) line and running westward, on condition that it should be divided into plats and surveys made and returned to the secretary's office within four years. It was not completed in four years, and in June, 1753, the Council granted four years' further time This was interrupted by the French and Indian War, and at the close the Council was restrained by the British Government. Afterwards, the officers and soldiers entitled to lands under the proclamation of 1763, began to make settlements, and the agents and settlers under the company petitioned the Council that they might hold of the company and soldiers might be restrained from interfering with them; and, in 1773, the Council allowed the settlers to make surveys and return them to the office. In 1753, a survey was made under this grant for Timothy Cole, of 190 acres in Washington County, in Rich Valley, on the waters of the North Fork of Holston River. The company gave titles upon payment of surveyor's fees and £3 for every one hundred acres. Dr. Thomas Walker had the management of the affairs of the company, as well as being a member, and he appointed William English his agent. Cole abandoned his land, and then in 1768 Joseph Scott and Stephen Trigg paid the fees on the same tract and they conveyed to David Ross in 1775. The affairs of the

Loyal Company were before the Supreme Court of Virginia and, in 1783, the title of the company to all lands surveyed under it prior to 1776 was established. In 1803, action was brought by Edmund Pendleton and Nicholas Lewis, surviving partners of the Loyal Company, against one of the earliest settlers, John Crunk.

Among the very early settlers under the Loyal Company, were members of the Harman family. The general course of business under that company and the trials of settlers may be gathered from depositions relating to their early settlement. In 1751, Henry Harmon and his uncle, Valentine Harmon, were on a hunting expedition when they camped on Sinking Creek of New River, in the present Giles County, and Valentine made what was called an improvement by killing trees. In 1754 he procured a survey under the Loyal Company. In the same year Valentine made a contract with a Dunker, George Hoopaugh, who, it was alleged, was poor and lived on Valentine's charity, that George should go and live on the place as tenant. In 1757 Valentine was killed by Indians, in the presence of his nephew, Daniel Harmon, and Daniel was taken prisoner, but escaped. No one but George Hoopaugh (Hoopack) lived on Sinking Creek at the time. He continued living there until 1775, when he moved off because of fear of the Indians. He returned, however, when he claimed the land as by settlement and made a conveyance of it. Although the grantees of the large tracts were speculators on a large scale, yet the same was not generally true of the settlers. While they were, no doubt, influenced by the prospect of rich lands at a small price, yet as a rule they were looking for a place for bona fide settlement, to make their abiding place, establish their households and pursue their fortunes. They were following upon the footsteps of numerous traders, hunters and trappers who had traversed the wilderness, back and forth, named its hills and streams and acted as prospectors and guides, but their mission was ended with the coming of population. The land speculator was not popular. The titles were but badly recorded and became matter of dispute as the lands became more valuable. These troubles became frequent about 1800, when nearly every piece of land was subject of controversy in the

courts in some form. One of the most frequent causes of complaint was that officers and soldiers had located bounty warrants for service in the French and Indian wars so as to conflict with the prior rights of actual settlers. In 1770 James Anderson made a settlement on Cove Creek of North Fork of Holston in Washington County. The next year Samuel Lammie (Lamie, Lamme, Lamb) settled and improved near him and then brought out Anderson. He continued to live there until 1774, when he was killed by Indians, whereupon his brother, Andrew Lamie, took possession and lived there until 1805, when action was brought against Arthur Campbell, who set up a claim. Arthur Campbell claimed that Andrew made no lawful settlement because he had no family, and claimed that in 1770 Andrew and Samuel Lemmie settled three or four miles higher up Cove Creek. In 1774 Samuel was captured by Indians and carried to Canada. Previous to that time the belief prevailed in the new settlement that single men, by what was called "taking up land," might hold the same, and this taking up was commonly designated by marking trees with the initial letters of the claimant's name, making a few brush heaps near the center of the land, and sometimes a log pen or small cabin. Andrew Lammie continued on the place, according to Campbell, during the Revolution, and was an avowed adherent to the enemies of the country and spurned the offers of the Commonwealth. After the Revolution Andrew moved to the place his brother had claimed and settled on it. Arthur Campbell says further: "The law itself that gave occupants a privilege to obtain donation lands was extorted from the legislature by the representations of a numerous band of emigrants which the affairs of America at the time made it good policy to conciliate, although not a few of them were deserters from the danger their eastern brethren were then involved in." Of Arthur, himself, it was said that he was "land mungering," for it was reported that he "was a surveyor himself and had white and black persons chain carriers with a chain, part made of rope and part of leather wood bark, and running as he pleased through other persons' claims, making corners and measuring lines at will, that a number of his marks

were about the land in controversy." The land involved in this suit is that locally known as "Campbell's Choice."

It was customary for the large proprietors to give distinctive names to their own lands. James Patton named his "Smithfield." Dr. Thomas Walker gave the name "Wolf Hills," which is the site of the present town of Abingdon. "Burke's Garden" was the seat of James Thompson in the present county of Tazewell. It had been originally that of Thomas and John Ingles, who settled there in 1749.

One of the difficulties of determining accurately the dates and circumstances of the first settlement of any of these regions is that frequently a whole district in which a community established itself would be entirely depopulated by an incursion of the Indians, those of the settlers who were not killed, abandoning their improvements, which were then relocated by those who came in after the Indians had retired. These later claimed by their own, a new right, all trace of the former being wiped out. It was characteristic of the people that after each Indian attack, not only fresh adventurers came and occupied the land, but in larger numbers than before. But at times there would be several years before the recovery. That there were settlers in considerable numbers before the grant to Patton and others in 1741, and the Loyal Company, south and west of that, in 1749, is sufficiently evident from many sources; but they were frequently and disastrously driven back. In 1753 and 1754 all the settlements were disturbed, but there was a return tide immediately after. After Pontiac's war and the treaty with France, there was a very large migration.

Among the very early settlers on Roanoke (or Stanton) River was John Robinson, who came in 1743. He was killed by the Indians in 1756. His brother, Thomas Robinson, lost his life at the Big Defeated Camps on the west of the Cumberland Mountain, and all his family were destroyed. In 1753 he qualified as captain of a company of foot, which would indicate that his section was fairly well settled in that year. He was the son of James Robinson, of Pennsylvania, and was sent by his father to purchase land upon Roanoke as a settlement for the children of James, who followed John, and they together with their friends and relatives, the Crocketts, the Loves,

the Pattersons, the Calhouns, the Pattons and the Montgomeries, were prime agents in the establishment of civilization. As is usual in such communities the neighbors were very apt to fall out and say unkind things about each other, but, fortunately, these people took their troubles into court, which became a clearing house of bad feeling. James Patton, who was president of the County Court, vestryman, member of the General Assembly, coroner, sheriff, county lieutenant, and a captain of cavalry in the militia service, all at the same time, could give and take hard knocks. In 1746 he haled into court all the Calhouns—Hames, Ezekiel, William and Patrick, on the charge that they were divulgers of false news, to the great detriment of the inhabitants. Apparently the Calhouns were in the habit of "crying wolf." In 1750 James Calhoun started the "news" that Colonel Patton had made over all his estate to his children to defraud his creditors, and that Patton could give no good title to purchasers. Patton instituted proceedings immediately against Calhoun for slander, which hung fire by reason of hung juries in the county court until 1754, when a mandamus was issued by the General Court to dismiss the cause. In the same year, 1750, James Calhoun contracted with Patton for two surveys of land, but before they were made out and signed by the governor the law was changed so as to give the governor a fee of one pistole for signing each patent. This Patton charged to Calhoun, but Calhoun refused to pay. Suit was brought by Patton in 1752 and a trial had. The jury, having been four days in retirement, asked to be discharged, but Patton's attorneys objected and they were ordered to consider further and if they could not agree, to return next court. In March, 1753, the same jury was called and John Smith, being absent, was fined. Defendant's attorney moved the court to dismiss the jury and impanel a new one, but Patton in person objected and the court was of opinion that the cause be continued and the same jury try the issue. The cause of John Smith's absence was that when the jury were called by the sheriff to take their places in the box, John jumped out of the back window of the courthouse and escaped. At the succeeding court none of the jurors appeared, and an order was entered to summon them to the next court, and at the next court, August,

1753, a mandamus was received from the General Court to dismiss the jury, which was done and the case continued. Shortly afterwards the matter was submitted by parties to arbitration and the finding was that each party pay one pistole, which was entered by the court as its judgment in August, 1754.

By November, 1746, the settlements southwest of the Roanoke had become so important that on the 19th of that month four roads were ordered to be built leading from the Roanoke settlements. The first was to run from Reed Creek to Eagle Bottom and thence to the top of the ridge that parts the waters of New River and those of the South Fork of the Roanoke, and these settlers were ordered to work it: George, Ezekiel, William and Patrick Calhoun, Bryant White, William Hanlow, Peter Rentfro and his two sons, George and Tinker, Jacob Woolman and two sons, John Black, Simon Hart, Michael Claine, John Stroud, Samuel Stalkner and all the Dunkers. James Calhoun and Charles Hart were to be overseers. The second road was ordered from Adam Harmon's on the New River, to the north branch of Roanoke, with these workers: George Draper, Israel Lorton and son, George Harmon, Thomas Looney, Jacob Harmon and three sons, Jacob Castle, John Lane, Valentine Harmon, Adren Moser, Humberston Lyon, James Skaggs, Humphrey Baker, John Davis, Frederick Sterling and his two sons. The third road was ordered to run from the ridge above Tobias Bright's that parts the waters of New River from the branches of Roanoke to the lower ford of Catawba Creek, with these workers: William English and two sons, Thomas English and son, Jacob Brown, George Bright, Benjamin Ogle, Paul Garrison, Elisha Isaac, John Donahy, Philip Smith, Mathew English and others to be nominated by George Robinson and James Montgomery . The fourth road extended from the ridge dividing the waters of New River from the waters of South Branch of Roanoke to end in a road that leads over the Blue Ridge, which was the state highway to Richmond, James Campbell and Mark Evans were the overseers, with these workers: Old Mr. Robinson and his sons, Thomas Wilson and his two sons, William Beus and his brother, all the Ledfords, Admuel and Henry Brown, Samuel Niely, James Burk, James Bean, Francis Estham, Ephraim Voss and ser-

vants, Francis Summerfield, John Mason, Tasker and Thomas Tosh, John and Peter Dill, Uriah Evans' sons, Methyselah Griffiths and sons, John Thomas, Peter Kinder. These names belong among those of the fathers, whose homely virtues and faithful manhood were the foundation of a free and virtuous people. Peace to their ashes.

In 1747 Valentine Sevier petitioned for license to keep an ordinary at his own house, alleging that "he is very much infested with travelers." He was probably living at that time to the north, on the waters of the Shenandoah. In 1746 his lands were processioned in that section. 1747 he was indicted for swearing six oaths, and at the same time appointed inspector of pork and beef. In 1747 he was arrested for raising a riot in the court yard, whereupon he begged fitting pardon and was discharged. He owned about 1600 acres in the present counties of Rockingham and Shenandoah.

On the third of September, 1747, Captain James Campbell and Erwin Patterson were appointed processioners of lands on the waters of Roanoke. These were the most southern bounds for which processioners were appointed, so that it must be taken that there were few settlers actually living upon New River, Holston, Clinch and Powell on that date. In July, 1748, Michael and Augustine Price purchased land on New River from Israel Lorton. In 1749, Thomas and John Ingles settled at Burke's Garden, now in Tazewell County. At that time Samuel Akerling owned lands in Dunker Bottom on New River, and in 1750 sold to Garrett Zinn, who moved almost immediately to Carolina to escape massacre at the hands of the Indians. In the same year Adam Harmon entered four hundred acres on New River, six miles above Wolf's Creek. The population must have been there, however scattered, as there was a justice of the peace, Thomas Ingles and a constable, William Ingles. In the same year, 1750, a road was ordered from Ezekiel Calhoun's to Woods (New) River, John McFarland and Joseph Crockett were to be surveyors and the following were the workers: Henry Batton, Mordecai Early, Jacob Goldman, John Downing, John Goldman, Charles Sinclair, Nathaniel Wilshire, William Sayers, William Hamilton, Humbertson Lyon, Frederick Carloch, Robert Norris, James

Miller, James Cove, Samuel Montgomery, Steven Lyon, John Conley, Andrew Linam, James Willkey, Samuel Stanlick, James Maies, Robert McFarlin, James Harris, John Vance, John Stride, Robert Miller, Alexander Sayers, John Miller, Jacob Castle, Robety Alcorn, John Forman, William Miller.

In 1752 Samuel Stalnaker, after whom a fort was named qualified as a captain in the militia. William Richey and John Vance were living on Reed Creek. The same year, Obadiah Garwood and two sons, Noah and Samuel (or Samuel Garwood and two sons, Noah and Obadiah) made a settlement on Clinch River in the present Tazewell County. Shortly afterward they returned to the north to bring their families, but the Indian war broke out and the country became untenable. Jeremiah Pate helped the Garwoods improve their land.

In 1753, William Leeper was appointed constable on New River in the place of Adam Harmon, who had already served one year, so that during this troublous period the government was kept in operation nominally even if the reign was not tight. This Adam Harmon had qualified as a captain of foot in 1747; had been the accuser in proceedings against Jacob Castle in 1749, charged with threatening to aid the French, and in 1752 had qualified as captain of a troop of horse. In the same year, 1753, a road was ordered from Samuel Stalnaker s on Holston River, to James Davis', with these workers: James Davis and his sons, Frederic Garlock, David, George and Conrad Carlock, Frederick Stern, Jacob and Adam Stalnaker, Jacob and Henry Goldman, Isaiah Hamilton, Hamilton Shoemaker, Timothy Cole, Humphrey Baker and son, George Stalnaker, Adam Andrews, Mathias Larch, Michael Hook, Martin Counce and Jacob Mires.

In March, 1754, a road was ordered on Reed Creek, on Holston River, and on Craig's Creek. Immediately after the clouds burst and the Indians committed frightful massacres in all the settlements, in some cases destroying all the inhabitants. The Holston River community was almost annihilated. James Patton was killed; members of the Draper and English families were murdered or taken prisoner. Fort Vause was taken. Valentine Harmon was killed. The list through 1745, 1755, 1756, 1757, 1758, is well known. In 1755 Court pro-

cess was returned "not executed by reason of the murder done on New River by the Indians." But there was returned to the court in 1755 the valuation of the improvements on the "naked farm" on Roanoke, the property of Peter Evans, which is quite interesting. The improvements consisted of 18 acres cleared and well fenced, under corn and rye, and ten acres of clear meadow; 100 fruit trees value at £1; one hay house, 15x10, £1.10; one corn crib, fifteen by four feet, £0.10; one spring house, 18 feet by 12 feet, £0.15; five head of horses and one breeding sow, £40.15; one wagon and gears, one axe and grubbing hoe and two plows and gears, £33/. During the years 1756, 1757, 1758, 1759, there is not a single entry in the current orders of the court relating to these settlements.

In 1760, Captain John Blagg commanded a company of the Virginia Regiment under Col. John Smith and Colonel Byrd at Dunkard Bottom on New River. Among the soldiers were Lieutenants Hansley, John Smith, John Lukis, Samp Evans, Richard Dodd, Richard Newport, Thomas Deigs, John Contrel, Captain Blagg commanded at Long Island in 1761. James Huston was armorer, and Frederick Elphistone was purveyor to the army at Reed Creek, Stalnaker's and Long Island. In the same year effort was made to serve judicial process, but without success.

On November 19, 1762, John Wiltshire, Alexander Sayers and Jacob Castle were appointed to view and report as to the valuation of the improvements made by John Staunton on New River, and three days afterwards John Thompson, Henry Ferguson and Hugh Mills were appointed to view the nearest and best way from the Stone House to the Bedford line. In the same year, James Robinson, whose relations had been, some taken prisoners, some killed and some dispersed, returned to the Roanoke country from Pennsylvania.

In 1763, the country had been freed of the enemy and settlers began to return. In March, William Beard was there. In April, William Grymes, Jas. Neilly and William Robinson were appointed road overseers from Grymes' clearing to Madison's; John Craig, thence to New River, on the lands of John Buchanan; Alexander and William Sayers, thence to Fort Chiswell; William Preston, to apportion the tithables as far as

Fort Lewis and William Thompson, thence to Fort Lewis. In November, John Smith, William Grymes, James Nealey, Israel Christian were appointed to view the roads that lead from Vause's over the New River on the lands of John Buchanan and likewise by Ingles' Ferry to the lead mines. In this year Michael Kimberling's father made a settlement on Walker's Creek in the present county of Tazewell, and was there killed by the Indians.

In 1764 the most southern district for which processioners were appointed was Roanoke.

In 1765 William Robinson, James Neeley, William Bryans were appointed to view a road from Vause's by Ingles' Ferry to Peake Creek. William Bell was living at Colonel Chiswell's mines. Andrew Baker settled on land in the present county of Grayson, within the grant to the Loyal Company. It was originally surveyed in 1753 for Peter Jefferson, Thomas and David Meriwether and Thomas Walker. It was the Peach Bottom tract. John Cox settled there the same year. George Collins and George Reeves settled there in 1767.

In March of that year Samuel Moody, Thomas Goodson, John Richards, William Ward, Hugh Crockett, Jacob Kent, Robert Crockett, Philip Love, Joseph Crockett petitioned for a road from Vause's to Samuel Woods'. In May, John Buchanan appealed to the General Court against the establishment of the road from Vause's to Peak Creek on the ground that it is on the land of the western waters and it is contrary to His Majesty's proclamation to grant any order for clearing any road thereon. In November, Joseph McMurtry and George McAfee reported that there were not enough tithables to make a wagon road from McMurtry's Mill through McAfee's Gap to the wagon road; and it was only practicable to clear it for carrying loads on horseback until the country is better settled. In that year Anthony Bledsoe built a mill at Fort Chiswell.

But by 1768 the settlers were beginning to petition the County Court of Augusta to assume jurisdiction over the territory which had been disputed land and by treaties recognized as belonging to the Indians. In that year the inhabitants of Reed Creek, of Holston, filed their petition: "That, whereas we, your petitioners, for some time past, have been

debarred settling and improving and cultivating our patent lands on the western waters, the reason whereof is best known to our legislators, but by virtue of the late treaty held to the northward, we hope we may, without offense, petition your worships to give orders that there may be alterations and amendments made on the old road leading from Captain Ingles' Ferry to James Davis' on the head of the Holston River, and appoint such surveyors as you in your wisdom shall think fit, and your petitioners, as in duty bound will pray. Joseph Black, James Holice, John Montgomery, Robert Montgomery, James Montgomery, George Breckenridge, Alexander Breckinridge, Robert Breckinridge, Robert Campbell, Robert Doack, William Doack, William Sayers, Arthur Campbell, William Davis, James Hayes, Samuel Hopes, William Leftwich, Jasper Gender, George Gender, Jacob Kinder, William Phips, John Houncal, Barnet Small, John Smith, John Bets, Robert Buchanan, Robert Davis, Samuel McAdam, James Davis, Nicholas Buchanan, Alexander Buchanan.

John Campbell, on his way to the Holston, in 1768, overtook a number of persons, who informed him they were coming to settle on a tract owned by Dr. Thomas Walker, known as the Wolf Hill Tract. In 1768, Robert Doack sowed turnips on Reed Creek, but made no settlement. In the same year constables were appointed on New River. In that year Michael Hoofacre settled in Rich Valley, a north fork of Holstein. When he came there was no improvement nor anything like an improvement except a hunter's cabin.

In 1769 the whole section embracing the head waters and sources of the New River, Clinch, Holston and Powell Rivers was erected into a separate county, and the surveyor was ordered to run the dividing line between Augusta and Botetourt as far as the western waters. Robert Doack was Dr. Thomas Walker's agent for the Wolf Hill Tract, and Thomas Armstrong was one of the earliest settlers. In the same year, John Smith, John Morgan and a large party settled on Moccasin Creek. Daniel Smith and Josiah Gamble succeeded Doack as agent for the Wolf Hill Tract. Daniel Smith was the school teacher of the community.

In 1770, William Herbert settled on Cubb Creek, in the present Washington County. The first settlement on the land had been by James McCarthy. Patrick Porter moved to Clinch in 1770. In the same year Jacob Young, who had settled on Reed Creek in the present county of Wythe, soon moved to Holstein. William McGhee (McGaughey) made a settlement in 1771 in Turkey Cove of Powell's Valley in the present Lee County. Peter Cloud and Thomas Lovelady had been living there some time before. McGhee moved in from Holston River, where he had been living. In the same year Valentine Harmon improved a piece of land on Clinch in the present Tazewell County. Samuel Walker came at the same time, and William Wynne was then living there. In 1771 Colonel James Dysart and Joseph Ray made a tour of nine months through Kentucky and of eleven months in 1772. In 1769 they made a similar tour of six months. Isaac Blangy (or Ballinger) had settled in App's (Abb's) Valley prior to 1771. It has borne that name since 1760. Robert Poage bought land there in the fall of 1771. Colonel James Maxwell and James Peerey settled on Clinch in 1772 and the same year John Stutler and Uriah Stone came. Maxwell lived there until 1784, and during that time two of his daughters were killed by Indians. The same land had been improved in 1760 and was called Ingles' Crabb Orchard, settled by John Ingles. In this year, 1772, Francis Fugate settled on Big Moccasin Creek. John Montgomery had gone there in 1771 with his father, Alexander Montgomery. The same year, John Tate settled. Francis Cooper settled there in 1770. Big Moccasin, about this time, became totally vacated for fear of Indians, and remained so about one year. In 1771 there was not a family on the north (west) side of Clinch Mountain, for a distance of ten miles. Henry Dougherty made a settlement on Laurel Fork of Holstein River in 1773. Mrs. Nancy Tate, Robert Fowler and James Crabtree followed soon after.

The Indians became troublesome in 1774 and continued so for several years. William McAfee settled on Sinking Creek of New River in 1774. In the same year Andrew Cowan settled on the North Fork of Clinch, which was called Stim's

Creek. Hugh Gullion had a settlement on Walker's Creek in 1774. He was killed at Point Pleasant. In 1775, William Fitzgerel made a crop of corn at Martin's Station in Powell's Valley and made an improvement near Cumberland Gap on a creek called Station Creek. William Herbert was living on Reed Creek in 1776.

The Indians attacked the settlement on Cubb Creek in 1776 and killed some people. They were very troublesome in Washington County from 1776 to 1779. Titus and John Benton were killed in Rye Cove in 1777. Charles Carter had settled there in 1775. This settlement was broken up by the Indians for several years. Felty Hoover and his sons, John and Abraham, settled on Black Water at the Flat Lick, a north branch of Clinch, in 1777. Thomas Rodgers was living on the land in 1765 when he was driven off by the Indians. The land lies in Lee County near Cumberland Gap, it had been originally improved by John Wallen about 1760. In 1778 Joseph Drake, who had moved from Sinking Creek to New River, on account of the Indians, moved to Kentucky, where he was killed by the Indians.

In the spring of 1781 all the settlers in Turkey Cove, in Powell's Valley, moved out because of Indians.

And thus the tide again receded. But when it returned, the breach in the barrier had been accomplished, the channel was open, the floods flowed in whirling and swirling and seething to the vortex from north, east, southeast; hordes of Presbyterian Irish, of Welsh and Dutch, of English Baptists and Episcopalians, of Carolina refugees, seeking surcease from persecution and convention in the land of freedom and fatness—Kentucky.

THE VIRGINIANS ON THE OHIO AND THE MISSISSIPPI IN 1742

By Fairfax Harrison.

In his *History of the Valley of Virginia,* first published in 1833,[1] Samuel Kercheval recorded a tradition he had from a Valley pioneer, William Heath, of Hardy, that "a man by the name of John Howard, and his son, previous to the first settlement of our Valley, explored the country and discovered the charming Valley of the South Branch, crossed the Alleghany Mountains and on the Ohio killed a very large buffalo bull, skinned him, stretched his hide over ribs of wood, made a kind of boat, and in this frail bark descended the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans, where they were apprehended by the French as suspicious characters and sent to France, but nothing criminal appearing against them, they were discharged. From hence they crossed over to England."

The early historians of western exploration generally ignored this story, though some of them mentioned it only to scout it.[2] But there was other testimony for Howard. Dr. L. C. Draper and Mr. Thwaites[3] both found references in eighteenth century English books, to "reports of the Virginia government" which they accepted as establishing the fact that

[1] The quotation will be found on p. 47 of the more accessible (but still unindexed) edition of 1902.

[2] *e. g.,* DeHass, *Western Virginia,* 1851, p. 48; Shaler, *Kentucky,* 1885, p. 59.

[3] R. G. Thwaites' *France in America* (Hart's American Nation Series), 1905, p. 40, citing a note by the anonymous English translator of LePage DuPratz *Histoire de la Louisiane* (originally published in Paris, 1758, the translation appearing in London, 1763, of which edition see for the reference to "Howard and Sallee," i, 105) and a brief quotation, in J. H. Wynne, *British Empire in America* (1770, ii, 405). from the report of "those who were sent from Virginia in 1742 on purpose to survey" the Mississippi. Dr. Draper's earlier investigations on the subject were printed in 1914 in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* i, 262.

Virginians named "Howard and Sallee" were on the Mississippi in 1742. In 1893, Mr. W. M. Darlington[4] printed, apparently from the Clarke transcripts made in the Public Record Office, London, a calendar of the Salley document, which is here presented, but he did not attempt to confirm it, nor, indeed, did he even comment upon it in his exhaustive review of the eighteenth century explorations out of Virginia, which preceded Christopher Gist's journey to the Ohio in 1750. Standing alone, stripped of the official reports which testified to its *provenance,* this paper was not convincing. Justin Winsor hesitated to accept it. "If the evidence is not to be disputed," he says,[5] "John Howard * * * was perhaps the first on the English part to travel the whole course of one of the great ramifications of the Valley. * * * An air of circumstantiality is given to the expedition in the journal of John Peter Salley, who was one of Howard's companions." Mr. Winsor's caution was justified also by the confusion in the Virginia folk traditions of the adventures of one called John Salling, on the inconsistencies of which the most judicious of the historians of the Valley of Virginia, Mr. J. A. Waddell[6] had already animadverted. These tales, told on winter evenings around border firesides, were preserved by Withers,[7] Foote,[8] Campbell,[9] and Schuricht;[10] while Dr. L. C. Draper[11] had taken down in 1848, from statements by "descendants of John Peter Salling," a curious farrago of them all, elaborated with new detail.

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[4] In an appendix to his edition of *Christopher Gists Journals* (Pittsburgh, 1893), p. 253. The Clarke transcripts had then been calendared in Fernow, *The Ohio Valley in Colonial Days* (Albany, 1890) with a reference only, at p. 260, to "an account of John P. Salley's travels."

[5] *The Mississippi Basin,* 1895, p. 318. The source of the "evidence" is not cited.

[6] *Annals of Augusta,* 1886 and 1902, p. 23.

[7] *Border Warfare,* 1831, p. 42. This, the most circumstantial, assigns to John Salling six years of captivity among the Cherokees with incidental travels from Canada to Florida. Winsor (*Mississippi Basin,* pp. 168, 179) apparently accepted this tradition as more probable than the one of the New Orleans journey, if, indeed, he appreciated that Salling and Salley were the same man.

[8] *Sketches of Virginia,* 2d Series, 1855, p. 26.

[9] *History of Virginia,* 1860, p. 427.

[10] *The German Element in Virginia,* 1898, i, 86.

[11] See Mr. Thwaites' note, based on Dr. Draper's MS, at p. 48 of his edition (1895) of Withers' *Border Warfare.*

The one fact which could be taken to be established by this kind of testimony was that in the early days of the Augusta frontier, one John Peter Salley (or Salling) had gone thence on a far journey into the mysterious wilderness; but, fortunately for the credit of a good story, Kercheval's informant may now be corroborated by following up the clews.

The contemporary record begins with the Executive Journal of the Virginia Council:[12]

October 17, 1737.

"John Howard, by his Petition setting forth that he, together with divers other Inhabitants on Sherrando River, are willing at their own charge to go upon discoveries on the Lakes & River of Mississippi, and praying a Commission for that purpose, it is accordingly Ordered that a Commission be granted the said Howard to Command such men as shall be willing to accompany him on such discovery, but with this caution that he don't offer any Hostility to any Indians or others he may happen to meet with nor go to any ffort or Garrison possess'd by the ffrench on the said Lakes or River."

November 3, 1737.

"Ordered, That there be furnished to Mr. John Howard 40 lbs. powder & a proportonable quantity of bullets out of His Majesties Stores & four Kettles for the better enabling him to perform the Service in making discoveries towards the River Mississippi."

The *Gooch Papers*[13] develop the details. Here it appears that when, in May, 1751, in pursuance of Governor Gooch's long nursed plan to provide an adequate map of Virginia, Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson produced the first draft of the well-known map bearing their names, Col. Fry accompanied it with "An Account of the Bounds of the Colony of Virginia & of its back settlements, & of the lands towards the

[12] *Va. Mag.*, xiv, 9, 16.
[13] British transcripts in the Library of Congress.

Mountains & Lakes" which was transmitted with the MS. map to the Lords of Trade by President Lewis Burwell, then acting lieutenant governor.[14] In this paper Fry states that he had based his depiction of the western waters and lands partly on conversations with his neighbour, Dr. Thomas Walker, of Albemarle, who had just returned from his explorations in Kentucky,[15] and partly on information derived from one John Peter Salley, described as "a German who lives in the County of Augusta in Virginia." Incidentally, Fry made a transcript of Salley's journal for 1742-1745,[16] in which were rehearsed his adventures on a wilderness journey with John Howard, under a commission from the Virginia government, which had taken them down the rivers New, Coal (which Salley named), Kanawha, Ohio and Mississippi and lead to their capture by the French, and imprisonment at New Orleans. Commenting upon this journal at large, Fry appended it to the copy of his *Account,* which was sent to London, where it constituted that "report of the Virginia government" which was read by the translator of DuPratz, by John Huddlestone Wynne and doubtby others who had access to the papers of the Board of Trade.

[14] See Burwell's despatch of 21 August, 1751, C. O. 5: 1327, L. C. Transcripts, p. 355 ff.

[15] Dr. Walker's *Journal* of his explorations in 1750, edited by William Cabell Rives, was printed in Boston, 1888. It was Dr. Walker who was selected in 1753 to lead the proposed expedition out of Virginia to explore the Missouri for a "carry" to the waters of the Pacific which was prevented by the outbreak of hostilities with the French in 1754. See James Maury in *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family,* Putnam's reprint, p. 391.

[16] Salley permitted others also to copy his journal. Mr. Thwaites says (in the note in his edition of Withers *Border Warfare*), "Salling kept a journal which was extant in 1745, for in the Wisconsin Historical Society's library is a diary kept by Capt. John Buchanan, who notes that in that year he spent two days in copying a part of it." Dr. John Mitchell, the Virginia botanist, also had seen it and made use of it in drawing that great map of 1755 on which the British government subsequently placed so much reliance. In his "Remarks on the Journal of Batts and Fallam" (Alvord, *First Explorations,* p. 204), Dr. Mitchell says "in 1739 or 1740 [sic] a Party of People were sent out by the Government of Virginia and traversed the whole Countrey down Wood River and the River Ohio to the Missisipi and down that River to New Orleans: whose journals I have seen and perused and have made a draught of the countrey from them and find they agree with other and later accounts."

Finally, there is now confirmation from the French side.[17] In 1742 LeMoyne de Bienville, the "father" of Louisiana, was at the end of his forty years of service on behalf of that colony. Having fallen into disfavor at Court, he had asked for his recall from his arduous duty as Governor, and was awaiting the arrival of a successor. The French colony was in domestic difficulties, and, through the diplomacy of James Adair, of Carolina, had recently been embroiled with its nearest Indian neighbours, the Choctaws. In this situation, a convoy returning down stream from the Illinois, captured Howard, Salley and their companions on the Mississippi, about one hundred and twenty miles above Natchez. In a despatch of 30 July, 1742, Bienville reports that his examination of the prisoners indicated that

"they had been sent on their perilous journey for the purpose of exploring the rivers flowing from Virginia into the Mississippi, and to reconnoiter the terrain looking to establishing a settlement, for the English pretend that their boundaries extend as far as the bank of the Mississippi. I have thought fit to have this affair investigated by a mixed council of military and civil officers to obviate misunderstandings among our own people and to allay the alarm excited by an enterprise which, though bold, after all was foolhardy. M. de Salmon has entered in our joint report on this subject his opinion that these five men were not alone, and that they had a rendezvous with the Indians. If they had been from Carolina I would agree with him, but the Virginians have no such knowledge of the country or of the tribes which dwell here as to have made such a rendezvous. Whatever may be the fact in this respect it is important that these rash men shall

[17] Gayarré (*History of Louisiana*, 1885, i, 523) mentioned the incident, and on that clew the despatches on which he relied have been found among the French transcripts recently acquired by the Library of Congress. The references are *Archives Nationales, Colonies*, C[13] A, 28 folios 6, 71, 191, 273. Cordial acknowledgment is made to Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, Director of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, for calling attention to the availability of these documents.

It is probable that among the still undigested records of the French regime in Louisiana, now in the Cabildo at New Orleans, more may be found on the subject. Mr. Henry P. Dart, of the New Orleans bar, is making a gallant effort to arouse public opinion in Louisiana to the advantage of editing this cache of historical material.

not return home to bear witness of what they have learned among us. I shall send them to the fort at Natchitoches, whence I will have them escorted to the mines of New Mexico."

In February, 1743, Bienville reported again that the difficulty of sending the prisoners safely to New Mexico had determined him to await the arrival of his successor (Vaudreuil) before disposing of them and, in July, 1743, Vaudreuil in turn reports that there is danger that the prisoner may escape, wherefore he asked permssion to send them to France. On this despatch is annotated agreement by an official of the home government, *"Les renvoyer en France,"* and the final entry is a despatch by Vaudreuil of 29 December, 1744, reporting that two of the Virginian prisoners had escaped and the other three have been sent to France.

The details of the story are told in the principal documents here reproduced. We begin with a petition which John Howard (or, as the French transcript makes him sign himself, Hayward) wrote in prison in New Orleans, and to which he added the names of his companions. Doubtless he planned to have this paper smuggled out by a friendly hand and put in the way to reach England. That it is now available is due to the fact that it was intercepted by Vaudreuil, translated into French and forwarded to Paris. What follows is a translation of this translation, turning it back into English:

> "To his Royal Majesty, George II, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, of all the lands thereon depending, including America, and Defender of the Faith.

"May it please your Royal Majesty:

"I, John Hayward, your very humble subject, have been an inhabitant in the most western part of Virginia, where we were continually exposed to the fury of unknown savages, who more than a hundred times and in different places have murdered the subjects of your Majesty. Deeming for this reason that neither I nor my neighbours were safe, I considered that the best means of remedying this our condition was to go to visit these natives and to make a treaty with

them. I went accordingly to consult with our Governor and, having laid before him my reasons, he commissioned me to enlist a small company of volunteers to go into the back parts of Virginia, as far as the River Mississipy, there to visit the indians who lived in those parts to make peace with them and so establish a durable treaty. A commission was made out accordingly. This enterprise having been abandoned for reasons which it would be tiresome to relate, I returned to my home. But the savages continuing their inhuman murders and having killed six of my neighbors in one day in a meeting house, I informed the Governor of this accident, whereupon he gave me a new commission and sent me after the murderers in the direction of the highest branches of the river Mississippy. There I found several indian nations by whom I was informed that those who had struck the blow were of their people (I saw the scalps of those they had killed), and that the murderers, fearing we would take vengeance, had fled towards the lakes. Some of them were taken and punished.

"Not trusting in the safety either of myself or my neighbours, I determined then to carry out the journey originally planned, and, our Governor being called away by reason of the war with Spain,[18] I made use accordingly of my original commission, which was still in force, and set out on March 8, 1742. I continued my journey until July the fourth, when we were arrested by seventy frenchmen, who conducted us to a town called New Orleans, near the mouth of the Mississipy. There we were closely examined by the Governor[19] and were grievously accused that our purpose had been to spy out the way for an army to come to destroy them and their country. Nothing appearing against us to support this charge, except weak suspicions, we hoped to be put at liberty, but on the contrary were condemned to three years in prison. And I verily believe that [if left to their mercies] we will not be

[18] As appears from his despatches Governor Gooch was absent from Virginia, in command of the American troops in the Carthagena expedition only from October 2, 1740, until the end of March, 1741. He returned wounded and sick leaving what he called his "little army" of Americans in Cuba. It must have been by reason of his physical condition that Howard was unable to see him again before setting out on his expedition.

[19] Bienville.

released until death has pity on us. To that fate we have indeed already been very near, partly by reason of the darkness of our dungeons and partly by reason of the bad food given us. But God having pity has restored our strength. And yet up to this moment we have no hope for our deliverance except in the Wisdom and Charity of your Majesty, our lives being as a sacrifice in the hands of cruel men.

"That your Royal Majesty and your blessed family may continue to enjoy the love of God, our Celestial father, by the merit of our Redeemer, Jesus Christ, and the Consolation of the Holy Ghost, is and continually shall be the prayers of your humble subjects whose names are subscribed.

"John Hayward
Josias Hayward, my Son
John Patteet
John Peter Salling
Charles Cinekler.

"New Orleans, June 21, 1743.

"In consideration of our deplorable condition, we ask pardon for our bad writing."

We shall see that eventually Salley escaped, so that Howard was of those sent to France by Vaudreuil in December, 1744. The Heath tradition as to his subsequent adventures is varied in detail, but in substance confirmed by a statement by Col. Fry in his *Account,* viz: "Howard and his men had been confined a long time at New Orleans, when, after the French war broke out, he and one or two of them were shipped for France, but in the Voyage were taken by an English ship and carryed to London, where I suppose he gave a fuller account of his Expedition than I can collect from an imperfect Journal." There is no evidence that Howard made any report in London, nor of what became of him. Unfortunately, there is no such local record for him in Virginia as there is for Salley.[20]

[20] There was an Irish family named Howard living in Stafford in 1692 when one "Thomas Howard, cooper," administered upon the estate of a kinsman of the same name (Stafford records, MS.)
There was a John Howard who served on the first Grand Jury of

We come next to Salley's Journal as Fry transcribed and commented on it. Tested not only by the confirmatory documents, but by the topography and incidental references, this seems now amply to bear out the confidence which both Col. Fry and Dr. John Mitchell placed in it.

A Brief Account of the Travels of John Peter Salley, a German Who Lives in the County of Augusta in Virginia.

It may be necessary before I enter upon the particular passage of my Travels, to inform my Reader, that what they are to meet with in the following Narrative, is only what I retained in my Memory; For when we were taken by the French we were robbed of all our papers, that contained any writings relative to our Travels.

1740. In the year 1740, I came from Pennsylvania to that part of Orange County now called Augusta; and settled in a fork of James River close under the Blue Ridge of Mountains on the West Side, where I now live.[21]

Orange county in 1735 and was surveyor of the road "from the Chapple Road to the Rapidan Cave's Ford" (Scott *Orange County*, 29, 30). He may have been our man but as we have seen he was living on "Sherando" river in 1737. Mr. Cartmel says (*Shenandoah Valley Pioneers*, pp. 475, 482) that there was an Irish family of Howards living in Frederick from the earliest settlement of the Valley. If our man returned to Virginia he may have been the "John Howard of the county of Frederick" who on May 16, 1753, had a grant of a lot in Winchester (*Northern Neck Grant Book*, H 382). The John Howard who appears in Chalkley's *Abstracts* from 1764 to 1768, in association with the Capt. John Buchanan who copied Salley's journal, seems to have been of a younger generation.

[21] John Peter Salley had a patent (*Virginia Land Register*, xix, 997) dated July 6, 1741, for 400 acres "in that part of Orange County called Augusta in the first fork of James River on the West side of the blue Ridge of Mountains." Fry identified the site with Salley's name on his map, at a point on James River just above Balcony Falls, in what is now Rockbridge. It appears from Chalkley, *Abstracts from the Records of Augusta County, Virginia* (1912), that the author of the Journal was a member of Capt. John McDowell's company before his expedition with Howard. (The muster roll among the *Preston Papers* in the Wisconsin Historical Society, printed by Chalkley, ii, 507, is not dated but is related by Waddell to 1742. The fact that Salley is on it would indicate that it must have been made before March, 1741/2.) and, in 1746, after his return, "qualified as Captain of Foot." (*Augusta Order Book*, i, 135.) In February, 1747/8, he had his lands processioned and, after several real estate transactions and a suit for

1741/2. In the month of *March*, 1741/2 One John Howard came to my house, and told me, that he had received a Commission from our Governor to travel to the westward of this Colony, as far as the River Mississippi, in order to make Discovery of the Country, and that as a regward for his Labour, he had the promise of an Order of Council for Ten Thousand Acres of Land; and at the same time obliged himself to give equal Shares of said Land to such men as would go in Company with him to search the Country as above. Whereupon I and other two men, Vizt [John Poteat] and Charles Sinclair[28] (his own Son Josiah Harwood having already joined with him) entered into Covenant with him, binding ourselves to each other in a certain writing, and accordingly prepared for our Journey in a very unlucky hour to me and my poor Family.

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breach of promise of marriage on behalf of a daughter, died in 1755, leaving a will dated 25 December, 1754 (proved 19 March, 1755, *Augusta W. B.*, ii. pp. 92, 111, 124). Two of his sons, George Adam and John, who took the James River lands under the will sold them in 1760 and 1762, describing themselves at first as "of Cumberland County, North Carolina," and later, "of Orange County, North Carolina." (*Augusta D. B.*, ix, 25; xi, 34.)

The "descendants of John Peter Salling" who made statements in 1848 for Dr. Draper, lived in Rockbridge, but Dr. Draper recorded that others were then living in Tennessee and Kentucky who spelled their name Sallee. In the Augusta records it is spelled variously Salley, Sally and Salling.

Whatever was the original name our John Peter was undoubtedly one of the Switzers who came to Virginia through Pennsylvania as a consequence of the activities of Michel and Graffenried (*Va. Mag.* xxix, 1) and must be distinguished from that Pierre (or Peter) Sallé who was peacefully baptizing children in the Huguenot colony at Manakintown during the years John Peter was absent on his travels (Brock Huguenot Emigration to Virginia, 1886, pp. 103, 113).

Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr., of the Historical Commission of South Carolina, advises that the Salley family of that State descends from Henry Salley, who had lands laid out for him in Orangeburgh Township in 1735, or sometime before John Peter says he left Pennsylvania.

[28] In the Fry transcript a blank was left for the name preceding that of Sinclair. We have supplied "Poteat" from the Howard petition, where in the French text it is spelled "Putteet." In Chalkley's *Abstracts* (iii, 252) there appears, under date of 6 February, 1745/6, an assignment of an interest in lands on the South Branch of James River (i. e., near Salley's) by "John Pateet of Frederick County, yeoman," to "Charles Sinckler, laborer." These are undoubtedly our men after they had respectively returned to Virginia. In 1753 (Chalkley, iii, 309) James Patton conveys other lands on James River to "John Peteet," while later references to Sinclair in the Augusta records indicate that he followed the western movement of the frontier down New River.

1741/2. On the sixteenth of March, 1742, we set off from my House and went to Cedar Creek about five miles, where is a Natural Bridge over said Creek, reaching from the Hill on the one side to the Hill on the other. It is a solid Rock and is two hundred and three feet high, having a very large Spacious arch, where the Water runs thro',[33] we then proceeded as far as Mondongachate, now called Woods River,[34] which is eighty-five Miles, where we killed five Buffoloes, and with their hides covered the Frame of a Boat;[35] which was so large as to carry all our Company, and all our provisions and Utensels, with which we passed down the said River two hundred and fifty-two miles as we supposed,[36] and found it very Rocky, having a great many Falls therein, one of which we computed to be thirty feet perpendicular and all along surrounded with inaccessible Mountains, high precipices, which obliged us to leave said River.[37] We went then a south west course by Land eighty five Miles, where we came to a small River,[38] and there we made a little Boat, which carried only two men and our provisions. The rest travelled by Land for two Days and then we came to a large River, where we enlarged our Barge, so as she carried all our Company, and whatever Loading we had to put into her. We supposed that we went down this River Two Hundred and Twenty Miles, and had a tolerable good passage; there being only two places, that were difficult by reason of Falls. Where we came to this River the Country is mountainous, but the farther down the plainer in those Mountains, we found great plenty of Coals, for which we named

[33] This seems to be the earliest description of the Natural Bridge. It is curious that Fry did not mark it on his map.

[34] Fry notes here in the margin, "The New River." For the discovery of this river in 1671 when it was named for Col. Abraham Wood of Fort Henry (Petersburg) see Alvord, *First Explorations*, 1912.

[35] This device may be a testimony of Howard's origin. Irish fishermen still use coracles made with the hides of bullocks.

[36] Salley's distances do not bear critical analysis. One can understand that they seemed greater to him than they do to a traveller in a Pullman car.

[37] It was a wise decision. In Fayette County, says Martin (*Gazetteer of Virginia*, 1836), New River "is borne down with so much force and precipitancy as to render its crossing hazardous . . . the falls being so rapidly successive as to resemble artificial steps."

[38] The northeast fork of Coal River.

it Coal River.[29] Where this River and Woods river meets[30] the North Mountains end, and the Country appears very plain and is well water'd, there are plenty of Rivulets, clear Fountains and running Streams and very fertile Soil. From the mouth of Coal River, to the River Alleghany we computed to be ninety two miles, and on the sixth day of *May* we came to Allegany which we supposed to be three Quarters of a mile, [broad][31] and from here to the great Falls on this River is reckoned four hundred and forty four Miles, there being a large Spacious open Country on each side of the River, and is well watered abounding with plenty of Fountains small streams and large Rivers; and is very high and fertile Soil. At this Time we found the Clover to be as high as the middle of a man's leg. In general all the Woods over the Land is Ridgey, but plain, well timbered and hath plenty of all kind of Wood, that grows in Common with us in this Colony (excepting pine). The Falls[32] mentioned above are three miles long in which is a small Island, the body of the Stream running on the North side, through which is no passing by reason of great Rocks and large Whirlpools, by which we went down on the south side of said Island without much Danger or Difficulty and in time of a Fresh in the River, men may pass either up or down, they being active or careful. About twenty Miles below the Falls the Land appeared to be somewhat Hilly the Ridges being higher, and continued so for the Space of

[29] With this description compare Martin, "Coal Rover . . . . is about 100 yards wide at its mouth and does not vary this width for many miles above. It is a beautiful meandering stream which runs through a romantic Valley, without receiving any tributary of consequence from the juncture of its northeast and west fork until it receives Little Coal River [Louisa] from the south. . . . The lower falls are situated five miles above the mouth and five miles above these are the upper falls." The "romantic Valley" is now black with collieries and railroads. Fry misspelled the name "Cole" on his map and was followed on several of the later maps. As a result, that spelling may still be encountered occasionally.

[30] Below Charleston, W. Va., so that at this confluence Salley's "Woods River" was the Great Kanawha.

[31] The Ohio at the mouth of the Great Kanawha (Point Pleasant) where, in August, 1749, Celeron de Bienville planted one of his plates, "pour monument du renouvellement de possession que nous avons pris de la ditte Riviere Oyo." One would like to know Celeron's authority for his "renouvellement."

[32] The falls of the Ohio at Louisville.

fifty Miles down the River, but neither Rocky nor Stony, but a rich Soil as is above mentioned. Joyning this high Land below is a very level flat Country on both sides of the River, and is so for an Hundred and fifty Miles, abounding with all the advantages mentioned above, and a much richer Soil; We then met with a kind of Ridge that seemed to Extend across the Country as far as we could view and bore North and South. In Seven Miles we passed it, when we found the Country level (as is mentioned before), but not having such plenty of running Streams, yet a richer Soil. On the seventh day of *June* we entered into the River Missisippi, which we computed to be five miles wide, and yet in some places it is not above one mile over, having in most places very high Banks, and in other places it overflows. The current is not swift but easy to pass either up or down, and in all our passage we found great plenty of Fish, and wild fowl in abundance. In the River Missisippi above the mouth of Allegany[33] is a large Island on which are three Towns inhabited by the French,[34] who maintain Commerce and Trade both with the

[33] Fry notes in the margin "Ouabache" and in his *Account* comments: "The River Alleghany heads with Susquehanna and the water of the lakes and running Southwesterly receives the Streams from the Allegany Ridge that way as the New River, coming from the South, does those Southward, *and where they meet they compose the River Ouabache*, named by the French, St. Jerome." President Burwell testified that Fry had retired from William and Mary College "to the back Settlements [Albemarle] in Order to raise a Fortune for his Family." This, then, was the motive of his dreams of the west which actuated the remainder of his life. He made what was in the Virginia of his time an unusual collection of material about New France. James Maury (*Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*, Putnam's reprint, p. 390) says that he had a copy of Daniel Coxe's *Carolana* (published 1722, 1726, 1727 and 1741) and so, of course, knew Coxe's map of the Mississippi, but the statement quoted above shows other and better knowledge of the Ohio. It seems likely from what he says that Fry had before him a copy of Herman Moll's "New Map of the North Part of America claimed by France," 1720, the legend of which declares that "the Southwest part of Louisiana is done after a French Map Published at Paris in 1718." Here the Ohio is laid down with approximate correctness, if without convincing land marks and, although Coxe had called it by its Indian name, "Hohio," is marked "Ouabach, now called by the French R. St. Jerome." The Great Kanawha is sketched in vaguely as "Sault R.", and the true Wabash is indicated still more vaguely but not named. The Tennessee River is shown emptying *into the Mississippi* below the mouth of the Ohio and is marked "Cusatees or Thegategos R." i. e., Cherokee River.

[34] Fry comments: "This as well as his account of the Salt Work and Lead Mine he had from information after he was taken for they did not go up the River." The island was Kaskaskia.

French of Cannada, and those French on the mouth of the said River. In the fork between Allegany and Missisippi are certain Salt Springs, where the Inhabitants of the Towns mentioned above make their Salt. Also they have there a very rich Lead Mine which they have opened and it affords them a Considerable gain.[85] From the Falls mentioned above in the River Allegany to the mouth of said River is four Hundred fifty Miles, from thence to the Town of New Orleans is One Thousand four Hundred and ten Miles, and is Uninhabited excepting fifty Leagues above New Orleans. It is a large spacious plain Country endowed with all the natural Advantages, that is a moderate healthy Climate, Sweet water, rich Soil, and a pure fresh Air, which contribute to the Benefit of Mankind. We held on our passage down the River Missisippi [until] the second day of *July*, and about nine o' the Clock in the Morning we went on Shore to cook our Breakfast. But we were suddenly surprised by a Company of Men,[86] Viz.t to the Number of Ninety, Consisting of French men Negroes, & Indians, who took us prisoners and carried us to the Town of

[85] Fry comments: "Monsieur Joutel in his Journal takes notice of a Salt Spring which his Indian Guides showed him between the Mouths of Ouabache and the River Islinois and that I suppose is the Place where the French make Salt. These French Towns, Salt Work and Lead Mine, must be in Virginia."

Joutel was one of the companions of LaSalle on his last fatal expedition to Texas in 1684 and returned via Fort St. Louis on the Illinois in 1687. (See Parkman, *LaSalle.*) His *Journal Historique* was published in Paris, 1713; an English translation appeared the following year and was reprinted in 1719. Fry evidently had a copy of one of these editions. Joutel is included in French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, i, 183, and should be read with Dumont's continuation (*ibid.*, v, 1) which describes the Illinois fort in 1753. Moll's map (1720) indicates "French Factory" at the mouth of the "Ilinese R." and lower down on the Missouri side of the Mississippi "Salt R." with "Salt Magazine [i. e. Ste Genevieve] and the general description, "This whole County is full of Mines."

[86] Fry comments: "The men who took them came from that Settlement [the Illinois] in a Fleet of Small Craft guarded by an armed Schooner because the Cherokees and other Indians at War with the French sometimes intercept them on the Mississippi."

As it happens, we have a graphic record of such an adventure, the very year before Howard and Salley were on the Mississippi, in the Journal of Antoine Bonnefoy (Mereness, *Travels in the American Colonies*, 1916, p. 241). In 1741 he was intercepted by the Cherokees while making his way from New Orleans to the Illinois and was carried up the Tennessee River to captivity in the Western North Carolina mountains.

New Orleans, which was about one Hundred Leagues from us when we were taken, and after being examined upon Oath before the Governor[87] first separately one by One, and then All together, we were committed to close Prison, we not knowing then (nor even yet) how long they intended to confine us there. During our stay in Prison we had allowed us a pound and half of Bread a man each Day, and Ten pound of pork p Month for each man. Which allowance was duly given to us for the space of *Eighteen Months,* and after that we had only one pound of Rice Bread, and one pound of Rice for each man p Day, and one Quart of Bear's Oil for each man p. Month, which allowance was continued to us untill I made my Escape. Whilst I was confined in Prison I had many Visits made to me by the French and Dutch who lived there, and grew intimate and familiar with some of them, by whom I was informed of the Manner of Government, Laws, Strength and Wealth of the Kingdom of Louisiana as they call it, and from the whole we learned, that the Government is Tyrannical, The Common People groan under the Load of Oppression, and Sigh for Deliverance. The Governor is the Chief Merchant, and inhances all the trade into his own hands, depriving the Planters of selling their Commodities to any other, but himself, and allowing them only such prices as he pleases.[88] And with respect to Religion, there's little to be found amongst them, but those who profess any Religion at all, it's the Church of Rome. In the Town are nine Clergymen four Jesuits and five Capuchin Friers. They have likewise one Nunnery in which are nine Nuns. Notwithstanding the Fertility and Richness of the Soil, The Inhabitants are generally poor as a Consequence of the Oppression they meet with from their Rulers, neither is the Settling of the Country, or Agriculture in any Measure encouraged by the Legislature.—One thing I had almost forgot, Viz.[t] we were told by some of the French who first settled there, that about *forty* years ago, when the French first

[87] Bienville.

[88] All this seems to be mere gossip derived from Salley's fellow prisoner the disaffected creole Baudran, whom we are soon to meet. Gayarré says that when Bienville "left Louisiana forever, although he was under the displeasure of the court, the colonists were loud in expressing their regrets."

discovered the place, and made attempt to settle therein, there were then pretty *many English* settled on both sides of the River Missisippi, and one Twenty Gun Ship lay in the River, what became of the Ship we did not hear, but we were informed that the English Inhabitants were all destroyed by the Natives by the Instigation of the French.[39]

I now begin to speak of the strength of the Country, and by the best Account I cou'd gather I did not find, that there are above four Hundred and fifty effective Men of the Militia in all that Country, and not above one Hundred and fifty Soldiers under pay in and about the Town of New Orleans, 'tis true they have Sundry Forts in which they keep some men, but they are so weak and despicable as not worth taking notice of, with regard to the Strengthening of the County, having in some of them only six men, in others Ten men, the strongest of all those places is at the Mouth of the Missisippi In which are thirty Men, and Fifty Leagues from thence is a Town called Mumvell[40] nine Leagues from the Mouth of a River of the same Name in which is a Garrison, that Consists of Seventy Soldiers.

After I had been confined in close Prison *above two Years,* and all Expectation of being set at Liberty failing, I begun to think of making my Escape out of Prison, one of which I put in Practice, and which Succeeded in the following Manner. There was a certain French Man, who was born in that Country, and had some time before sold his Rice to the Spaniards for which he was put in Prison, and it Cost him six Hundred Peices of Eight before he got clear. He being tired with the Misery and Oppression under which the poor Country People

[39] Fry comments: "If this be true it is most likely to be known in England or Jamaica: and a Proof of it would give the English a Right by Possession to the Southern part of the river as well as to the Northern by King James the First's Charter to Virginia."

While undoubtedly there were Carolina traders on the Mississippi as early as 1700 (the facts are collected in Surrey, *The Commerce of Louisiana during the French Régime,* Columbia University Studies, 1917) the story of English in the Mississippi forty years before 1742, which Salley heard, was probably a tradition of the elder Daniel Coxe's expedition up that river in 1698, for which see Margry, *Découvertes et établissements,* iv, 361, 395. Daniel Coxe in the preface to his *Carolana,* and his father's *Memorial* in Alvord, *First Explorations,* p. 248. As Fry knew Coxe's book, he evidently did not believe this part of it.

[40] Fry notes in the margin, "Mobile."

Labour, formed a Design of removing his Family to South Carolina. Which Design was discovered, and he was again put in Prison in the Dungeon, and made fast in Irons, and after a formal Tryal, he was condemned to be a Slave for Ten Years, besides the expence of seven Hundred peices of Eight. With this Miserable French Man I became intimate & familiar, and as he was an active man, and knew the Country he promised, if I could help him off with his Irons, and we all got clear of the Prison, he would conduct us safe untill we were out of Danger. We then got a small file from a Soldier wherewith to cut the Irons and on the 25th day of *October, 1744* we put our Design in Practice. While the French man was very busie in the Dungeon in cutting the Irons, we were as industrious without in breaking the Door of the Dungeon, and Each of us finished our Jobb at one Instant of time, which had held us for about six hours; by three of the Clock in the Morning with the help of a Rope which I had provided beforehand, we let our Selves down over the Prison Walls, and made our Escape[47] Two Miles from the Town that night, where we lay close for two days. We then removed to a place three Miles from the Town, where one of the good old Fryers of which I spoke before, nourished us four Days. On the Eighth Day after we made our Escape, we came to a Lake[48] seven Leagues from the Town but by this Time we had got a Gun and some Ammunition, the next Day we shot two large Bulls, and with their Hides made us a boat, in which we passed the Lake in the Night. We tied the Shoulder Blades of the Bulls to small sticks, which served us for paddles and passed a point, where there were thirteen men lay in wait for us, but

[47] Vaudreuil's despatch of 29 December, 1744 (*Arch. Nat. Colonies*, C[13] 28: 273) confirms this. Salley's creole companion was one Baudran who sometime before had been arrested for robbery and was condemned to ten years in the galleys, but escaped to the Havana with the intention of making his way to Carolina and thence among the Indians "of that Nation." He was, however, returned to New Orleans by the Spanish and there was imprisoned in irons (legs, hands and neck) until permission could be obtained to send him to France. After his escape with Salley he sent word to the Governor that his purpose was to enlist his friends among the Choctaws to intercede for his pardon, which, says Vaudreuil, "will be difficult to refuse because he is a brave and enterprising man, much beloved by the Indians, and if he shall ally himself with the enemies of France will be a dangerous enemy."

[48] Lake Pontchartrain.

Thro' Mercy we escaped from them undiscovered. After we had gone by Water sixty miles we went on Shore, we left our Boat as a Witness of our Escape to the French. We travelled thirty miles by Land to the River Shoktare,[43] where our French man's father lived. In this Journey we passed thro' a Nation of Indians, who were very kind to us, and Carried us over two large Bays.[44] In this place we Tarried Two Months and ten Days in very great Danger, for search was made for us everywhere by Land and Water and Orders to Shoot us when found. Great Rewards were promised by the Governor to the King of the Indians (mentioned above) to take us, which he refused, and in the meantime was very kind by giving provisions and informing us of our Danger from time to time. After they had given over Searching for us, and we having got a large Periaugue and other necessary things for our voyage, and on the 25th of *January* our French man and one Negro boy (which he took to wait on him) and another French man and we being all armed and well provided for our Voyage, we set off at a place called the belle Fountain (or in English fine Spring)[45] and Sailed fifty Leagues to the head of S[t]. Rose's Bay,[46] and there left our Vessel and travelled by Land Thirty Leagues to the Fork Indians,[47] where the English trade. Then there were three with them, and there

[43] Pearl River. The friendly aid of the Choctaws is an evidence of the relations Baudran had with them.

[44] Bay St. Louis and Biloxi Bay.

[45] On D'Anville's map of Mobile and the adjacent coast (1732, reproduced in Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile*, p. 166) "Belle Fontaine" is marked on the bay shore between Biloxi and the mouth of Pascagoula. On Bellin's *Carte de la Louisiane et des Pays voisins*, 1750, it is marked "La basse Fontaine." The "Fontainbleau" of the modern map evidently indicates the site.

[46] The Santa Rosa Bay of the contemporary maps is now known, after the stream which drains into it, as "Choctawhatchee Bay" but the old name remains in "Santa Rosa Island," east of Pensacola.

The strategy of Salley and his companion was to avoid the French at Mobile and at Fort Toulouse (Montgomery), and to strike as soon as possible one of the Carolina trading paths out of Savana Town (Fort Moore, opposite Augusta) which then traversed north Georgia and Alabama, by which they could, as they did, make their way to Charles Town.

[47] These were the "Lower Creeks" living in the fork between the Chattahoochie and Flint Rivers, with whom Carolina then maintained trading relations.

we stayed five Days. The Natives were to us kind and generous, there we left the two French men and Negro boy, and on the tenth of *Febuary* we set off and Travelled by Land up the River Giscaculfufa or Biscaculfufa,[48] one Hundred and thirty five Miles, passing several Indian Towns the Natives being very hospitable and kind, and came to one Finlas an Indian Trader, who lives among the Ugu Nation. On the first of *March* we left M[r] Finlas, and on the sixteenth we arrived at fort Augustus[49] in the Province of Georgia. On the nineteenth instant we left fort Augustus and on the first of April we arrived at Charles Town, and waited on the Governor,[50] who examined us Concerning our Travels &c. and he detained us in Charles Town eighteen Days, and made us a present of eighteen pounds of their Money, which did no more than defray our Expences whilst in that Town.

I had delivered to the Governor a Copy of my Journal, which when I asked again he refused to give me, but having obtained from him a Pass we went on board of a small Vessel bound for Virginia. On the Thirteenth of *April,* the same Day about two of the Clock we were taken by the French in Cape Roman and kept Prisoners till eleven of the Clock next Day, at which time the French after having robbed us of all the Provisions we had for our Voyage or Journey, put us into a Boat we being twelve men in Number, and so left us to the Mercy of the Seas and Winds.

On the fifteenth instant we arrived again at Charles Town[51]

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[48] Neither of these names appear on the contemporary maps. The river was the Chattahoochie on which a Dutch map of "Florida" of 1734 (followed by the map in Rapin, *History of England,* 1744) shows "Hogolegos" in the vicinity of Columbus, Ga. This was a village of the Yuchi (*Handbook Am. Indians,* ii, 1003) who were Salley's "Ugo Nation."

[49] Augusta, on the Savannah River.

[50] He was James Glen, a Scot, who came to South Carolina as Governor in 1743.

[51] The *South Carolina Gazette,* published at Charles Town, carried the following news item in its issue of April 15, 1745:

"Capt. Norman in a small Schooner belonging to Mr. Hugh Cartwright of this town and Messrs. George Ducat and Robert Dunston two of our Pilots with their boat, were taken on Friday last off Cape Romain in their Passage to Winyaw, by a French Privateer from Port Louis on St. Domingo, call'd L' Aventure, Capt. Martin Torres, who (after having plundered the Pilot Boat) gave Ducat a Pass in French

and were examined before the Governor concerning our being taken by the French. We were now detained three Days before we could get another Pass from the Governor, we having destroyed the former, when we were taken by the French, and then were dismissed, being in a strange Place, far from Home, destitute of Friends, Cloathing, Money and Arms, and in that deplorable Condition had been obliged to undertake a Journey of five Hundred Miles, but a Gentleman, who was Commander of a Privateer, and then lay at Charles Town with whom we had discoursed several times, gave to each of us a Gun and a Sword, and would have given us Ammunition, but that he had but little. On the Eighteenth Day of *April,* we left Charles Town, the second time, and travelled by Land,[88] and on the seventeenth Day of *May, 1745* we arrived at my House, having been absent three years Two Months and one Day, from my family, having in that time by the nicest Calculation I am able to make, travelled by Land and Water four thousand six hundred and six Miles since I left my own House till I returned Home again.

p John Peter Salley.

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not to be retaken by his concert, and put 12 English Prisoners on Board, with which he arriv'd last Night."

Acknowledgment is made to Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr., for this further voucher of the good faith of our document.

[88] It seems probable that they followed the "Path to Virginia by way of Cape Fear," as marked on George Hunter's map of South Carolina in 1730. This map is reproduced in *Bulletin No.* 4 of the Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1917.

THE
VIRGINIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

VOL. XXX. JULY, 1922 No. 3

LETTERS FROM WILLIAM AND MARY, 1795-1799

From Originals in the Collection of Mr. Thomas S. Watson.

THIRD INSTALMENT.

FROM DAVID YANCEY.[1]

Williamsburg, June 6th, 1795.

Dear David:—

To eradicate prejudices, or rather to excite them in favour of one's cause, is what might well have employed the philosopher's, and orators of ancient times; But I am satisfied these arts, which I pretend not to posess, and which, I think, should be laid aside between friends, would be entirely unnecessary to your candid mind. I shall therefore like Socrates lay them aside and endeavour by plain arguments to vindicate myself from the imputation you have alledged against me. As to yourself I doubt not but you have been assidious in your inquiry

[1] David Yancey was doubtless from Louisa County. In the will of one of the Yanceys of that county, dated about 1807 he speaks of books &c bequeathed to him by his brother David, so it is probable that this popular student died when a young man. He was A. B. of William and Mary, 1796.

after an opp' of writing to me; But at the same time be assured I have not been less anxious on my part. This I believe is the first opp' I have had since the reception of yours, and even now I am obliged to dispence with the reading of my lecture in order to write to you. Think not that the remembrance of my old friends and acquaintance is so easily eradicated from my memory. No Dear Davy! Be assured it is not. Often do I resolve in my mind the many happy moments we have spent together.

But to tell you the truth I scarce have time for this, its true I have frequently written to my Father often thro' necessity, but it was always in such a hurry that I scarce had time to read them over after I had written them. When therefore you take into consideration, that for some considerable time it was as much as I could do to prepare for the Lectures, being entirely unacquainted, as well with the matter, as manner, that I seldom had an opp', and when I had, it was without having time to prepare before hand, and lastly that I have been much incommoded by sickness, you will think I waited for you to begin the correspondence.

As to the manners and customs, some I like well, and some I do not, as you might suppose, many of them are different from what we uplanders have been accustomed to. The old adage might well be applied in many cases. Every man for himself, etc.

Fish and oysters are very good food at times, but in my opinion not near equal to Mr. Madison's Lectures with which I am enamoured, and without which I think no man can boast of a good education. I once thought Greek and Latin were all or nearly all the essentials of an education, but I now find they are the least part. Sturgeon goes for bacon, Fish and oysters are plenty enough in summer, but in winter, when most wanted, like other vegetables, to use Tandy's expression, they are rather scarce; which however is not owing to the real necessity. I believe so much as the want of inclination to buy, and the fear of spending a little money. Study is our principal amusement, but some times we go out and take a game of fives against the old House. If a person comes here for improvement, he must

study hard, but if pleasure be his object, it is a fine place for spending money as ever I saw. I think you have lost considerably by not coming down last fall; I expect you certainly to come down with me next fall; I have a room a little out of town, of which, if you will participate, you shall be heartily welcome. But enough of these things, I will give you a full detail when I see you. It really surprised me very much to hear that Johnny had taken his position in Louisa again. What does he say of my leaving him? You [word illegible] one of some surprising changes. Poor Jack Vaughn [word illegible] feel myself very much concerned, he is a good fellow [word illegible] hope he has recovered ere this. What, the Diamond married; ay this is the consequence of the Doctor's going to see Betty so often: Well I suppose it will stop some of their mouths from gaping. I have a heap of questions to ask you, but must defer them. Remember me to all my friends, particularly to those in Albemarle and Ducking Hole and others which I have not time to specify, also to Bob M. and believe me to be, in haste, your very affectionate friend,

Da. Yancey

[Address] Citizen David Watson,
Green Springs,
Louisa

Fav'd by Mr. Preston

From John W. Tomlin[8]

Cobham Park, May 1, 1797.

Citizen Watson,

Your kind favor of the 27th of April by Brockenbrough, have just received. Am obliged to you for fulfilling my request, but sorry to hear of your peculiar disagreeable situation.

[8] John Walker Tomlin, of Richmond County. He is probably the person intended by "J. M. Tomlin, Hanover" in the printed catalogue for 1798. He was a son of Col. Walker Tomlin of Richmond Co. (a member of the Convention of 1788), and married Margaret Williamson, daughter of Williamson Ball. J. W. Tomlin died Dec. 4, 1815. For his children see Hayden's *Virginia Genealogies*, 127,128.

However I hope, by this time, as you have consulted the Doctor, you are either cured, or convinced by what disorder you are so tormented. I really sympathize for your condition, which I kno distresses you as much, or more so than any person, but what can't be cured must be endured; and as every sweet has its bitter, so equally on the contrary every bitter must have its sweet, and as it is only by contrasting pleasure with pain that we can enjoy the former, let us be content and hope for the better; for in any situation this is the only way to be happy. I hope Lewis and Burwell have returned that you may drown your . . . by a simple game now and then, for without them it would puzzle you to make a set, without you could prevail on the old gentleman in the Library to divest himself of his religious scruples in this age of reason, and by the way of a little relaxation take an innocent throw at whist. It was near a week before I reached home from the time I left Williamsburg. We had a jolly set the morning I left town, and Brockenbrough[8] tells me the Bishop intends to expell us all, because we meant to do him an honor by giving him three shouts; I think this would be a cruel and ungrateful piece of business, at least disgraceful to a Bishop. Since I have been at home, have done nothing but gad about, and this would be the case if I was to continue here for twelve months. Shall be at the races next week, after that shall return to College as soon as possible; but don't know the time exactly. Have no news to communicate. Present my respects to Mr. & Mrs. Cole, particularly to the gentlemen of the Brafferton and to all the students—remind. [paper torn] son and Lewis of their promises; Write me as [words illegible] convenient,

With respect your friend and fellow student.

John W. Tomlin.

Richmond Court House
7th May '97.
[Addressed] Mr. David Watson, Student,
Williamsburgh.

[8] William Brockenbrough, afterwards Judge of the Court of Appeals of Virginia. See note to previous installment. It may be mentioned as a contrast to his youthful effervescence that he was long a prominent member of old Monumental Church, Richmond. It is also here men-

FROM CARTER HENRY HARRISON.

Clifton, June 11, 97.

Well, Watson! how are you by this time? Has that abominable eruption left you yet, or is there any probability of its leaving you? Are you in a situation to take a nearer view of these dear creatures, who render Williamsburg so enchanting to all who have formed an Acquaintance with them; and to partake more of the Gaiety and Amusements of the town, than when I took my melencholy departure? In short, do you live, or do you drag out an existence, worse even than Death itself? There, My Friend, are questions which when I took up my Pen first presented themselves as most interesting to one who so much wishes your Happiness. But to me who am so desirous to be informed of your situation, it must afford a satisfaction that you should have some knowledge of mine; which tho it be a subject rather unpleasant at this time, I will endeavor to broach with some degree of fortitude. At present I am with my mother, but expect before very long to take up my quarters with my brother Bob, who lives about two miles distant across Willis's River, between that and James River. This situation I have made choice of on account of its retirement, which makes it more proper for one who has to undergo the arduous task of conversing with my Lord Coke and his numerous train of musty associates. Be assured I tremble at the thought. How different is this state of retirement and seclusion from Society, from that Gaiety and myrth which Williamsburg affords! How painful to behold the gloomy prospect which lies before me, after having enjoyed in pleasing tho' melencholy reflection those happy moments, which like the fleeting dream, have passed never more to return! Believe me, I did not know my attachment to Williamsburg till the time had arrived when I was to bid Adieu. Like the Lover on whom some fair Damsel has

tioned as an instance of the passing character of wild-oats sowing that a later student of William and Mary, a man in later life eminent in all good work for the public welfare and a pillar of his church, is said (in his family) to have been under the "influence" but once in his life, and that was an occasion when, after a late sitting with fellow students and a warm dispute as to the time, he took a candle and, at three o'clock in the morning, went out to consult the sun dial on the campus.

exercised her charms by little and little, when unapprised of the spark which had kindled in his Breast, he beholds her with a seeming indifference, till the fatal moment arrives when he is to take a long, long farewell.

But enough of this, lest I tire you. Your letter of last fall, containing information of the State of the College, I found here on my arrival. It reached this soon after I went down, but the Family supposing it to have come from you, in answer to my letter, of which they knew the contents, did not think it necessary to send it to me. I suppose there is hard whipping now among the candidates for the 4th July. Do write as soon as possible, and give me all the news you can collect, and rest assured that your letters will always be gladly received by

Your Sincere Friend,

C. H. Harrison.

Remember me to T. [or J.] Allen and all my acquaintances at College; it is not worth while to particularize. If you think proper, you may make my best respects to the Bishop, but that is just as you please—but certainly to Mr. Bellini. Likewise to Mrs. H——d and her daughters, and tell them I wish them all the happiness this world can afford.

[Address] June 7th, '97
Mr. David Watson,
student, William & Mary College,
Williamsburg

FROM BENJAMIN HOWARD.[4]

Richmond, July 14th, 1797

Dear Watson

I have been detained much longer in this quarter than I expected, a horse not being sent for me as yet, and finding it im-

[4] Benjamin Howard settled in Kentucky after graduating, was a member of Congress from that state 1807-10, when he resigned; Governor of Upper Louisiana, 1810-12, appointed a brigadier-general U. S. A., March 12, 1813, and given command of the territory west of the Mississippi River, and died at St. Louis, Sept. 18, 1814. His name does not appear in the printed catalogue.

possible to get one on any terms here—But however I have spent my time very agreeably sometimes here and sometimes at our relations Majr. Prosser's; I have dined with several Gentlemen in the neighborhood and received invitation from others, which I shall accept if I stay any time; in short I find the people very agreeable that is to say true Virginians; But alas! when I mention the word agreeable, as applied to a people or a place, Williamsburg presents itself and causes me to experience all those pleasing (tho mournful) sensations which are produced by the recollection of past pleasures, but I find myself greatly relieved by the hope of returning once more to that place where I have been happy tho my pleasures will be much abridged embittered by the absence of many friends whom I hold in high estimation, and the painfull thought of never meeting again; but I shall endeavor to discard that gloomy disposition of mind ever willing to assist in making us miserable on such occasions and substitute the pleasing thought of a happy meeting in such circumstances that we shall be able to spend Hours that will equal if not surpass the past for pleasure. I hope you will be particular in writing to me as nothing you can do will add so much to my happiness; never let it be an excuse that you have nothing to write; if that be a good apology I might without censure be silent this time, it is certain that you will always be either well or unwell, happy or unhappy, and I shall ever willingly read a letter containing such Intelligence; that I may be able to condole with you in your distress or enter into a lively participation of your pleasures as the case may be, suspect me not of too great professions of friendship, I dislike them, nor for speaking the Language of a passion which I do not feel, but believe the expressions to be the expression of a Heart that glows with attachment before it professes a friendship and then you will only do justice to your unfeigned Friend etc. Benj. Howard

P. S. Remember me to all the Lads at College and at the upper House also to the Raleigh family[5]—I write in a great

[5] This would make it seem probable that some students boarded at the Raleigh, though it is believed the College statutes forbade students living in taverns.

hurry do excuse inaccuracies I shall endeavour to atone for this letter by writing those in future so that they will be at least legible when I set down I intended to write to Cable [Cabell] but time will not permit therefore remember me to Mr. & Mrs. Moir & the young men there also Mrs. Tazewell, Littleton[6] & Col Griffin[7] & Lady & all others who may enquire for me

I forget, I went with Taylor to old Judge Lyons[8] but he refused to examine him, his certificate being defective, he will try some of the other judges as he wishes much to obtain Licence before he goes up, some gentlemen are just waiting for me to ride into the country.

[Addressed] [Endorsed] July 14th. 97

Mr. David Watson Howard
Student at Wm. & Mary College

By Post.

[Richmond July 18, 1797]

FROM ISAAC A. COLES.[9]

William & Mary College, Novb. 29th., 1797

Dr. Friend,

When I was up the Country in the vacation I heard to my great satisfaction that you were about to return to this old place not to study but to woo the Lovely Betsey; this I readily believed as I heard it from a very intimate friend of Miss Maupin's[10] & as I was aware of your partiality. But while in

[6] Littleton Waller Tazewell graduated A. B., at William and Mary in 1791. He was Governor and United States Senator.

[7] Col. Griffin was Col. Samuel Griffin who had served as a Colonel in the Continental Line; a member of the Board of War; of the House of Delegates from Williamsburg 1787-88, of Congress 1789-95, and died Nov. 3rd, 1810. The name of his wife is not given in the printed genealogy, but she was probably Mrs. Judith Griffin, daughter of Carter Burwell, whose death is announced in the *Virginia Gazette*. There is a fine portrait of Col. Griffin by Gilbert Stuart.

[8] Peter Lyons, Judge of the Court of Appeals.

[9] For Isaac A. Coles see note to former installment.

[10] Elizabeth or Betsy Maupin, as she was most commonly called, was evidently a very charming girl, and, as appears from these letters and others published in the William and Mary Quarterly, was for a number of years the reigning belle of Williamsburg. She was the daughter of Gabriel Maupin and his second wife Dorcas Allen to whom he was

imagination I was painting you fired with impatience & flying on the wings of love to see & embrace the dear object of your affection, while I saw her gently chide your impetuous ardour, & gaze on you with eyes overflowing with love & tenderness, I was alarmed at a report of a quite different nature; Parson Hert informed me that you were attacked with a violent Rheumatism which had confined you to your bed for some time; I have since been informed by many of its extreme obstinacy and disagreeable effects. How little Watson did I expect to hear this when I left you last July on the Raleigh steps, when health & vigor shone forth in every feature, & seemed superior even to the ravages of time. Nor shall they now yield thus tamely & with a struggle. I know that mind of yours will ever prove superior to evil, Never will groundless dispair take possession of a breast like yours; No. Again shall you resume the Orbit from whence you have been accidently driven; Again shall you revolve in the region of that Mirth & jolity which once you so fondly loved & again shall you be David Watson the admirer of E. Maupin.

Happy, thrice happy am I to hear by Mr. Quarles that these my predictions will shortly be verified. But let me now tell you of Old Williamsburg & its contents.

Most of our old friends & fellow students have returned together with several new ones five or six & twenty of us board here with Mr. Moir the rest live at College. There are in all about forty. We are as merry & mischievous as ever, & now & then take a trip into the Blue room.

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married in 1768. Extracts from the family Bible seen many years ago do not give the date of her birth; but her sponsers were Mary Craig, Susannah Armistead, Archibald Williamson and William Allen. One who had the occasion to read this series of letters (and others unpublished) would readily feel, over the long interval of years, something of her charm and would hope that after her girlish triumphs she would retire and become a delightful wife to some good fellow; but, alas! as often happens with college belles, she became a college widow and died unmarried at Louisville, Ky., in 1847. Some of her letters and her picture (if such exists) would form a more interesting publication in this Magazine, than many of those of famous statesmen.

The sponsors for her sister Ann (Nancy) were D. Pasteur, Capt. John Pasteur, John Steward, William Pitt, Ann Pasteur, Ann Craig, Fanny Pasteur, Mrs. Whitaker and Susan Cocke. She married Norborne Beale, had a son Norborne Gantt Beale, and died in Kentucky.

There are few Ladies in town at present tho they are coming in every day like hogs to market. Little Nancy & Beal are still engaged though I am afraid they will never bring these matters to a focus. The lovely Betsey is at present at the Bolling Green with her relation Mr. Homes, tho she is expected every day & I hope when I write you again that I shall be able to be much fuller on this head. Little E. F. has reigned unrivaled here for some time, but Miss Champ Carter[11] of Albemarle has lately arrived & disputed the palm very warmly with her; I make no doubt but you have heard of the observation which Ogelvey made on Miss Champ, & which I think was extremely just, viz. that she was Corporal elegance. This Old place affords nothing new; it wears precisely the same phiz that it did last year, nor would it be in the power of the strictest observer to find the smallest alteration. Remember me particularly to Yancey should you see him, & believe me to be sincerely your friend

Isaac A. Coles

P. S. Cabell desires to be remembered to you & says he will write you very shortly.

[Addressed] David Watson
Favd. by Louisa
Mr. Quarles.

[Endorsed] 29th. Nov. 97
I. A. Coles.

FROM GARRETT MINOR.[12]

WmsBurg, Dec. 20, 1797

Dear Watson,

Your Favour of the 28th. of November came safely to hand

[11] Champe Carter here referred to was probably Sarah Champe Carter, daughter of Robert Carter, and granddaughter of Edward Carter, of "Blenheim" in the same county. She married Benjamin Randolph, of Albemarle County.

[12] Garrett H. Minor, of Louisa County appears in the printed catalogue in 1798. He was probably a son of Garrett Minor, of "Sunning Hill", one of whose daughters, Sarah, married David Watson, to whom these letters were written. Garrett Minor, the younger, was a member of the House of Delegates for Spotsylvania County 1817-18, 1818-19, 1821-22, 1827-28, 1828-29 and 1829-30.

and believe me, when I assure you, that I heartily rejoiced in the prospect of your recovering. Your situation ere this must have become irksome even to a quietist, and probability of amendment must be pleasurable to yourself, and agreeable to your friends. Most of your old acquaintances here sympathized most cordially with you, and most unfeignedly rejoice in your restoration to Health, and tranquility. Some of them have written to you, you have ere this received their letters; they were sent up by Mr. Robert Quarles, who promised to give them a speedy as well as safe conveyance.

Your exculpation of the Bishop I received with pleasure, and I am able to tell you with candour that I agree with you in all your positions. Whatever impressions I may have received on my arrival here to his prejudice are happily dissipated; and by a continued succession of worthy & beneficent acts, I am induced to believe him a man of probity and Honour. I am pretty well assured that this College owes its present existence to his unwearied exertion in its favour; that were his supporting influence taken away, the whole system would fall into anarchy and even anihilation. The visitors have acted very ungenerously, and their inertion may extenuate in some, if not in all points the much abused infractions of collegiate Regulations. The Professors themselves have quarreled on this matter with as much animosity and rancour as the Students. Bishop & Tucker I fancy had never any cordial regard for each other, but now it has trangressed the bounds of decency. On Tuckers side I mean. On our offering to pay him 4 guineas he grew offended, declared that he had no right to them, that to demand them was an unwarrantable stretch of power, and that no professor could with decency and Honour accept them. What were his motives for these his declarations I know not, but I thought that since the measure was determined, and the Students had acquiesced in it, he might have spared his comments & Reflections. Whether these sentiments were the effusions of a rational conviction of the unconstitutionality of the measure, or from some private fostered pique against the professors, I leave you from your knowledge of the men to decide. But this I will assert, and I doubt not that you will agree with

me, that Tucker, tho a man strictly honest, is too much warped by prejudice too much led astray by passion. His animadversions have not been confined to Mr. Madison alone, but have extended to Mr. Andrews conduct. He had flatly and frankly told us that Mr. Adrews in becoming a member of the Legislature has not only violated the laws of the College, but the Laws of this Country, and that he is sorry to see that body so inattentive to the execution of their own Laws as not to take notice of it, and its infractors. The propriety of the Remark I refer to you. Tucker seems to affect a contradiction and diversity of thought and action with the other Professors, whether from singularity or a conviction of his being right I cannot determine, but I can say it renders him very disgusting.

Well sir, I have seen, by way of a change, the tremendous redoubtable terrifying insides of the Blue Room. A party made of about 15 drank rather freely and in the hour of juvenile fervour and imprudence patrolled the Streets, and by some taunting reflections over the morals of some of the reputable part of the town, provoked a Mr. Hornsby to fire a gun at them, which compliment they returned by a salute of about 50 brick bats. They immediately retired. Hornsby by a knack of magnifying (which you know is extremely common) has aggravated it into an assault; and complained to the town hall, whose head, Mr. Bracken (who made himself very busy) condemned us, and complained to Mr. Madison. He had us called into the Blue Room before the professors, who after sundry interrogations to which they received no answer, condemned us to further trial. The matter rests undertermined yet.

We have written to the Bishop and made every concession consistent with the case. The Bishop wishes the matter to be compromised as soon as possible, as the most respectable party of the College was engaged in it. For instance what think you of Mr. Brokenbrough as our ring leader, Coles, Nelson, N. Burwell,[13] & the matter with its concomitant aggravations will soon rest consigned to oblivion.

[13] This was doubtless Nathaniel Burwell, A. B., 1798, then of "Carter's Grove", James City and afterwards of "Carter Hall", in the present Clarke County. Thomas Nelson, of Hanover, and William Nelson of York, were students in 1798 as was Robert Nelson, A. B.

Your old friend Weylie is about leaving College much to the regret of his acquaintance, and his pupils. He lives with Ambler of James Town. Ambler gives him £60 per annum: and the fees of as many Scholars as he can get. He leaves colledge the 14th of Jany.

As to any other news I know of none but some trivial occurences of town, which are not worth the trouble of Retail. Such for instance, as Basset's courting Eve Formicola.[14] It is supposed it will do. Beale is so taken up with little Nancy that he cannot attend lectures, and when he does knows nothing of it. 'Amor vincit omnia' it has subdued all & every thing in Beale. Believe me with sincere regard

Your Fd.

G. Minor.

I envy you your month on Duckinhole—
Cabell, Coles, Brokenbrough desire to be remembered kindly to you.

[Addressed] David Watson Esq. Louisa
Care Mr. Terrel
Richmond.

[Endorsed] 20th. Dec., '97 G. Minor.

FROM JOHN W. TOMLIN.

Jan. 14, 1798.
Wm. & Mary College.

Dear Watson:

This will be handed you by Mr. Johnson. By him I received the agreeable news of your being again restored to the free exercise of your limbs. Believe me, my friend, nothing of the

[14] Eve Formicola, who appears to have been for several years one of the leading belles of Williamsburg. She married Stewart Bankhead. She was daughter of Serafina Formicola, who long kept a well-known tavern in Richmond. He had probably been a steward to Lord Dunmore.

kind ever affected me so much, as when I heard of your unfortunate situation. From the description I have had of your disorder, the first cause of it, the manner in which you were taken, its falling from your eyes into your legs, and the low state to which it reduced you, yours appears to have been a case very peculiar. Such a one, I hope, you nor any of my friends will ever experience again. I was taken early in the fall with bilious fevers, which, together with several colds, caught by imprudent conduct, kept me very much indisposed till near the end of November; when, I was seized with a violent pleurisy. So soon as I could venture out, I came down immediately to Williamsburg; and about ten days ago I was taken again with something bordering on a pleurisy, which obliged me to call in the aid of a doctor. I am still much indisposed; though a great deal better than I have been. But let us dismiss this sickly subject—and hope to live to enjoy many a happy hour yet before we quit the face of clay. I attend the Lectures on law; our class are seventeen in number; and poor creatures, the weakest set that ever were termed Law students before. I shall continue at College, I believe, no longer than Mr. Tucker's course lasts; and that he will finish, if he keeps his present gait, about the first of March. Our friend Weyley left College, to live with Mr. Ambler about Christmas; I saw him in College today, he is very well. The students are not half so sociable as they were last course; party spirit runs high, and we have no society among us. I have been to a ball since I came down; and oh! Watson the little fellows, the sweet charming little fellows that were there! I won't mention particulars, but this I whisper Miss E. M. was absent. I don't know why it is, but so it is that she never has been seen in Williamsburg since the sum[mer?] Tell me, have you heard, or do you know any tidings of this forlorn, disconsolate fair one; When strength and sprightliness shall resume their vigour, Oh seek her out and comfort her. I should have written you before, but this is the first opportunity—I hope to receive a letter from you shortly. My respects particularly to Yancey; tell him if he feels an inclination, I shall be very happy in corre-

sponding with him. Hoping that you may have a speedy, perfect and lasting recovery, permit me to subscribe

Your friend,

Rec'd 10 Feb. 98 John W. Tomlin,
J. W. Tomlin. Adieu

[Address] Mr. David Watson,
Louisa County
A favor of
W. C. Johnson

FROM WILLIAM BROCKENBROUGH.

Williamsburg, Jan. 14, 1798.

Dear Watson:—

In conformity with the divine Doctrine expressed in the Decalogue, "Remember that thou keep *holy* the Sabbath Day" I take up my pen to do a deed a thousand times more holy than that of going to Church to observe the comings in, and the goings out, the Motions, the Actions, and the Dress, of Girls, or what is still worse the Ravings of an hypocritical Priest.[15] For is not that amazing hypocricy which induces the recommending of Doctrine with earnestness, nay even with energy, which very Doctrines are not thought of, as soon as the pulpit is empty? This is a pretty beginning you will say. Well! as I was going to observe I did not receive your letter of the 19th December till four or five days ago, and then it was almost worn out, I however made a shift to make out the words, and that you know was all that could be wished. But I cannot but think it rather hard that the communication between us should be so interrupted, and so slow. Pray cannot you get some neighbour of yours to become a Federal Grand Jury Man who will present the want of post riders in your part of the country

[15] The "hypocritical Priest" certainly deserved no such epithet. He was Rev. Dr. John Bracken, rector of Bruton, and President of William and Mary 1812-14. He was elected Bishop of Virginia, but declined. The scoffing young gentleman who wrote this letter afterwards became a Judge of the Court of Appeals of Virginia, and one of the pillars of Monumental Church, Richmond.

"as a real Evil." As the wise Jury are fond of presenting abstract lifeless things, why not present this want? And as they have once endeavoured to put an end to, or at least to clog the wheels of a liberal correspondence, methinks they may now shift their ground with Grace, and wipe off the slur upon their reputation by a contrary Presentment.

I am glad to hear by Mr. Johnson who is the bearer of this that you are better than when you wrote me the letter, and that you can walk about a little without the aid of crutches. It is indeed a lamentable thing that a man in the very prime of Youth should be made decrepit in body; for your Mind it is evident is perfectly healthy. It would be ridiculous in me to attempt to offer you any puny consolation, you know your situation, you experience the pain but you possess fortitude, and this is the sublimest, and the best of virtues, by this sovereign remedy, corporeal infirmity is stript of more than half. Nay I believe I may say of more than all, its horrors. Keep your *mind* calm, preserve your fortitude, and you will not only obtain a more speedy cure, but you will be victorious, even though your pains of Body should increase million-fold.

Weylie now lives at James Town; he came to town yesterday to pay us a visit and has not yet left us. Look below and observe what advantage he has taken of me. I will e'en let it remain as it is. I miss him a good deal. Whitfield[16] has returned to College, attends Tucker. He is a young man of very considerable Abilities. He is very well versed in the detail of European, and American Politicks, and is by no means deficient in the principles. He will too converse with ease, and with propriety on almost every other subject, but a peculiar way of screwing his mouth and of clipping his words which all proceeds from a knowledge of his talents, and from a ridiculous vanity, render him not so agreeable a companion as he might otherwise be; except this, I am extremely pleased with his virtues, and his abilities. He was a Candidate last year, as is also now for the Assembly.

[16] This was Charles Whitfield, A. B., 1798. Wills Cooper, or Cowper, of North Carolina (in the catalogue), but probably really of Isle of Wight Co., Va., was also A. B., 1798.

In addition, I will also mention Cabell, W. Burwell, and Cowper as agreeable, and instructive companions. Minor * who comes from Louisa, I like, but he is too damned fond of hard words. If he would exclude some of them from his nomenclature he would really have a choice collection of them, but unfortunately he has a strange preference for the hard ones. I do not think by the bye that his ideas keep pace with his language; he reads much, thinks little, and pays more attention to imaginary Beauties in Words, or combinations of words than to thoughts. I may however be mistaken. Tomlin is here but has been sick for a week.

I have hard luck here, Watson; would you think that I have been engaged in a nocturnal frolic? Yes, I have. Last month after supping on a plenty of egg-nog in Minor's Room, what must we do but turn out, and march up and down Town with the Fiddle, and at length by the drunkenness of ——— be induced to brick-bat old Hornsby's House. The Council of the Town met twice, and the Blue Room Council met six times on the occasion and at length it was amicably settled by the Intercession of Prentis, Barraud, etc.—Terrible Doings and we have all lost our characters by it. Minor will give you the particulars. I have now nothing more to say but to wish you a speedy Recovery. Compliments to D. Yancey and believe me to be

With sincerity your Friend,

William Brockenbrough

P. S. E. M. is not in Town.

[Address] Mr. David Watson
Near the Green Springs
Louisa County

Mr. Johnson.

[On back of sheet] Woodson, alias Citizen Death, is going to quit, not this Life, but this College tomorrow.

* Garret Minor was evidently born before his time. If he were now living he would no doubt be a leading writer among the Young Intellectuals. To the modern man-in-the-street, Brockenbrough's criticism of his friend, "too damned fond of hard words," would seem to suit admirably some contemporary authors.

FROM ISAAC A. COLES.

Williamsburg, March 21, 1798.

Dear Friend:—

I hope you will not take it for a commonplace remark, when I tell you, that the pleasure I felt, on the receipt of your last letter, was infinitely great. The reports circulating here about you, previous to its coming to hand, were of a truly alarming nature. Some said you were no more. Others said you were in a situation worse if possible than death. Your friends all lamented your hard fate and gave you over as lost. In this situation of affairs to be informed of your recovery, to hear from yourself that you still lived and were likely to regain your former vigor afforded me a pleasure too exquisite for language [page worn] [I possess?] How often have I been induced to state that question to myself, which I have heard you so often describe; "Is there such a thing as Soul, or can it exert independence of the body? Where now is Watson? Is he annihilated, or does he animate some other body? Is he now enjoying the reward of his many virtues, in the happy fields of Elesium, or is he hurled into regions that glow, with never ceasing fires? Is he capable of sensation although immaterial? Can nothing feel or think or ——— But I will go no farther, already I am far beyond where I can comprehend; Let us act with propriety in this world, and if there be an here-after, we shall, no doubt, enjoy its richest blessings But by way of shifting the scene, suppose I tell you I have seen the lovely Betsey, yes! I spent an evening with her not long since, She appeared to be perfectly well. When I told her, I had a message to her, from a particular friend, she enquired very anxiously who he was and when I mentioned the name of Watson, I thought I saw joy sparkle in her eyes; She desired me to remember her very particularly to you, and inform you that she was very happy to hear of your recovery. She says, she has lost your eye, but has your heart very secure, and wishes to know if you have taken as good care of her keep-sake. Little "Eve" is again engaged, and I think, it will not be her fault,

this time, if she is not married. Norfleet appears to have her too susceptable heart perfectly at his command. The time appointed for their marriage is the last of April. Your sentiments with respect to this College, accord perfectly with mine; the custom of pulling down steps, breaking carriages etc. I think of all others the most detestable. Of late it has become vastly too fashionable. The other evening[17] a large party made an attack upon the sacred property of God; the Communion Table was broken into a thousand pieces, all the prayer Books and Bibles scattered about the Church Yard, one winder entirely destroyed, and the pulpit itself bedaubed from one end to the other, with human excrement. An offence so heinous, called aloud for punishment. The Bishop and proffessors talked high of expulsion, But the party was so numerous, and many of them so respectable, that, although they had direct proof, nothing was done. I once thought this old place might again survive, but I am convinced now that that time will never arrive; Were it not for the Bishop it would not now exist, without him, I make no doubt, it will expire. The students have been extremely merry this winter, tho entirely at our own expense. The inhabitants have not given us a single party the whole course. We have had a number of fine girls with us, from Richmond, Fredericksburg and other places. One from Richmond in particular exceeded anything I had any idea of, Yes Watson she is superior even to Betsey herself, she is a Helen in face, and an angel in disposition. A single glance of her eyes did more mischief among the students than the powerful arm of Achilles among the Trojans during the ten Years War. When she led down the dance I could say with the poet:

> Grace was in her steps, heaven in her eyes
> In every gesture, dignity and love.

I am afraid if I go on much longer at this rate you will take me either for a mad man or a Lover, I will therefore desist, or

[17] This sacrelage seems now inconceivable. Even if those who took part in it had been drinking until they were crazed, it is hard to believe that such a thing occurred. It can only be hoped that He, in the words He used so long before, said, "Father forgive them, they know not what they do".

in other words I will come to a final close, for after talking of her, every other subject must be insipidity itself. Adieu Dear Friend and believe me to be

Forever yours

Isaac A Coles

H. Lewis send his love and wishes to know if you have been [word illegible] lately

[Address] David Watson, Esq.
Louisa.

Mr. Michie.

FROM JAMES M. MORRIS.[19]

W'msburg Apl. 28 — 98

Dear Watson

I received your favour of the 23 inst for which I am much obliged to you, not so much because I have been gorged with phylosophy, but because, I am always glad to hear from an old friend; more especially, as I left you not in very good case; from which, to my great satisfaction I hear you are almost recovered—I am very much surprised, that you should doubt the strength of my nerves, were they to suffer no greater shock, than the receipt of a letter from you, which, (were they really weak) would rather contribute to strengthen than the contrary. I hope Michie explained Parker's affair to you, and if he did not, I will when I see you; but enough of this stuff.

With respect to affairs here, we go on much in the old way, sometimes reading, sometimes frolicking. Apropos! I was at one the other evening where I saw your old sweetheart E. M., who, I think to do her justice is as handsome as ever and between you and myself Davy, she does credit to your taste; I must try and get acquainted with her, which I have not done yet being not much of a Ladys man, but by Jove I am almost afraid; she has such an air of dignity in her deportment that she strikes me with a kind of awe—

[19] James M. Morris, of Louisa, A. B., 1798.

Anne is not yet married to Norbourne, who continues to visit her constantly, and it is said they are to be married sometime in the fall. E. Russell is also to be married, about that time to Mr. Robinson[19], of Richmond, and to close my intelligence with respect to marriage affairs, little Eve that inconstant, wavering little creature has settled her mind and was married a few days ago to J. Norfleet with everybody's consent, I believe, but Lewis and Selden's who would rather have procrastinated the matter, could they have done so with decency, as to the other ladies of this place, with deference be it spoken, I fancy there is no chance of their getting married—as to the lads in general they have most of them gone home to stay during the vacation—Wylie has been gone some time to Alexandria and is every day expected. Should he return before Yancey leaves this place you'll have an account of his adventures I suppose.

Tom Maury goes on much after the old sort and Peach will be up in our part of the Country in a few days as he sets out Monday next.

It begins to be bedtime so farewell Dave

James M Morris

Be so good as to let me hear from you shortly since you are convinced my nerves will not suffer by it

J. M. M.

[Address] David Watson Esq.
Louisa
Fav'd by D. Yancey

FROM GARRETT MINOR.

William & Mary April 28, 1798.

Dear Watson:—

I have received by our friend Yancey your letter of April 23rd. You ask why our correspondence has ceased? I am unable to assign any adequate cause for it. You extennuate

[19] Anthony Robinson (1770-1851), married Elizabeth Russell (1778-1852) daughter of William Russell, Clerk of James City County. He was an uncle of Conway and Moncure Robinson.

yourself by the irristible plea of laziness. In compliance with that admirable precept of Christianity "Do as you would be done by"! you will certainly not demur at my putting in the same plea. If we reciprocally allow this reason, we shall be exactly even, and may begin our correspondence, as it were, a principio.

In the Letters of one who is, as it were, "insulated" here, you must expect to find a continued strain of egotism. You must have experienced it heretofore, and it is the only apology which I shall make in troubling you with it now. Then Sir without any further apology, you must know that I am still plodding at the course which is professed to be taught here. Still attending that admirable System of Political Wisdom which the authors on our course continually inculcate. When, Sir, my mind flags with that, when its abstrusities unhinge it, as a recreation, and as a means of restoring its proper tension, I apply to the pages of that far-famed author of *perspicacity* and *elegance,* Sir E. Coke, which my worthy Tutor Judge Tucker so ardently pressed me to commence and as a relaxation from this I skim over the surface of mathematicks. You must confess that here is a most delectable variety! No listlessness, no innertia can here take place. But in so extensive range of Science the mind must ever find some pleasure, or discover new gratifications. This would ever be the case with common minds, but [mine] I must confess is of that uncommon texture that it is not susceptible of these impressions, or capable of these improvements. That ardour which ambition and emulation excites is stifled in a moment, and from the height of expectations I am plunged into the gulf of despondence what can aid me? You will say patience, and perseverance. God grant them to me! For I require some more powerful stimulants than that which actuates me at present, to rouse me to noble endeavour—pray give me some good and wholesome counsel on this head.

One great source of improvement which here I enjoy is the Social intercourse of fellow students. Mutual endeavours to improvement might be expected. If difficulties should be ren-

dered easy, if doubts should be resolved, and improvements in any branch of Science should be gained, from that Friendship and Liberality which ought to characterize the actions of youth, we should suppose these circumstances communicated with the generosity of philanthropists, and not with the selfishness of emulous vanity. By violence, by illiberality, and passion these beneficial effects are rendered migratory—I no longer enter into them. Disputes I cautiously avoid, as lending to no improvement, and waive every subject which has a tendency to produce them. What a pity by our own folly we are deprived of this admirable source of real improvement? Was it so when you attended this colledge? Pray inform me, for I have entertained an opinion for sometime past that this college is going down hill, and that the impolitic conduct of its present occupants has aided greatly in precipitating it.

But, Sir, my greatest source of real improvement and gratification results from a system which you would think me least susceptible of, would you believe that that shame, awkwardness, and dulness which ever characterized me heretofore, should be superseded by joviality and gallantry? You will say impossible? But Sir it is really the case—what could cause this great metamorphosis? Nothing else than the superiority of the ladies of this place "True they are fair," and true they are agreeable and are the most engaging, pleasing, easy and polite set of women with whom I was ever acquainted. One of the finest has lately retired from this elysium. E. Formicola is noosed irrevocably to Mr. Norfleet. On the whole I admired Eve. She was fickle, inconstant, extravagant and coquettish. But she was endowed with sensibility and a share of sense which in some measure extennuated these qualities.

> "If to her share some female Errors fall!
> Look on her face and you'll forget them all!"—Pope.

But who is that that approaches from the regions of the lost? Her demeanor is noble and majestick, the radiance of Beauty invests her around, her blue eyes softly roll in Love[?], her Breast is the white waive of the ocean, and her words are the

voice of peace. This virgin fit only for a heroine of Ossian is no other than my cousin E. Maupin, the finest woman my eyes ever beheld. In her I behold the consumation of elegance, dignity, softness and sensibility. I ever thought woman naturally inferior to man, but she has operated to erase these ungenerous opinions. I visit her freely, enjoy the pleasure of her conversation, of which you may be sometimes the object, and gain real improvement, without the danger of being fascinated so far as to injure myself. Her Sister Nancey is to be married in September to that exemplar of Idiocy, N. Beale. Prior[20] is to be married also in a short time to Miss Tyler, and Miss Russell to Robertson [Robinson], I shall return in July about the 15th.

Yours sincerely,

G. Minor.

[Address] Mr. David Watson,
Louisa.
Care of Mr. Yancey.

FROM CARTER H. HARRISON.

Clifton, Nov. 21st. 1798

Dear Watson

It has been a considerable time since the receipt of your letter by Mr. Johnson. No opportunity since that has been offered except the one by our friend Vaughan, which on a supposition that I should see you in a few days, I thought it unnecessary to make use of. How much I have been disappointed in this Respect I leave it to yourself to judge. A change of circumstances, however, I am sensible put it out of your power to gratify me with the pleasure of seeing you at Mr. Vaughan's. I arrived there on the day of rendesvous and learned of Doc'r Keane the cause of your not coming. I still had hopes & was indeed told that Yancey would certainly meet me, but what ill fated accident deprived me of that Pleasure also, I have never been able to learn.

[20] John Clayton Pryor, of Gloucester County, a student in 1798 &c., married Elizabeth Armistead, daughter of Hon. John Tyler, Sr. She died in 1824.

You appear to think me hasty in drawing my conclusion from your first letter. I even felt myself worried with the subject & might have made my conclusion too extreme for the Premises; but make the worst of it, and you can only ascribe it to a Heart warm in its friendships, & too easily alarmed at anything which may threaten a dissolution of them.

I had the great satisfaction to see our worthy friend Howard about ten days ago. He called on me on his way to Williamsburg, & staid with me a couple of nights. We passed the time so agreeably in talking over all the diverting scenes at the old College, that when he took leave, I felt very sensibly the want of sleep which I had lost the two preceeding nights. He expressed the greatest desire to see Yancey and yourself. After attending the law lectures this winter, he means to apply for license in the Spring & return to Kentucky to commence the Practice. From him we shall be able to learn how things go on at the old place. I suppose you have received the melancholy news of the death of Mrs. Griffin, & no doubt make one of the number who sincerely lament the unhappy event.

I am much pleased to find you are determined to attend at this session of the Assembly. I have only to fear that something may again turn up to prevent my seeing you. In the course of a fortnight I expect to be in Richmond.

Adieu C. H. Harrison

Nov. 25

Friend Vaughan came up on yesterday & returns this morning. He will convey this to you in a few days. Tell Yancey I am very sorry Meriwether's hurry will not admit of my writing to him. It was my intention to have written to him when I could meet with a conveyance for this. However as the last letter went from me he cannot complain.

On Friday next I purpose setting out for Richmond.

C. H. H.

[Address]

Mr. David Watson
Yanceyville
Louisa

Mr. Vaughan

FROM BENJAMIN HOWARD.

Williamsburg, Jany. 30th., 1799

Dear Watson

I sit down to tell you that Howard lives not to forget his friends but to hold them in the most affectionate remembrance; let me assure my dear Watson that when I received his letter sensations were experienced by me which could be felt, but begger all description; one from Carter Harrison was handed me at the same time, which had its share in heightening my joy although I had seen him shortly before. I had heard of your long illness, & of your recovery, before you wrote me. I hope it is the last time you will be visited by that infernal complaint but be careful, it is a disorder easily brought on again by being a little exposed. I know a little of it by experience. Why did not David Yancey drop me [a] line. I take the liberty of challenging him through you to a correspondence. If he does not give speedy satisfaction I shall pop a paper at him shortly charged with the bitterest load of invective he has received lately.

How do you come on in the law way, as for my own part I read like the Devil & the more I read the greater are my doubts on many points. God knows when I shall get them removed but after all I am a right sharp chunk of a Lawyer, were a man to give me 15s. for advice I would look as grave as an owl & fetch out a long & probably erroneous opinion but what of that, rest assured there is a devilish deal of error sold nowadays by our profession to the gaping populace, at least one fourth are nothing more than retailers of mistake. Tucker has us under the whip, he has been remarkably polite to me. I have dined there several times since my arrival here, the people are generally very liberal to me. I have had more invitations than reached me during my whole stay here before, that is to dine. L. Griffin[*] will be married this night week, Mercer is here.

B. Russell will share the same long & anxiously looked fate

[*] Louisa, daughter of Judge Cyrus Griffin and Lady Christina Stuart, his wife, married Col. Hugh Mercer, Jr., of Fredericksburg, youngest son of General Hugh Mercer.

about the same time. Mrs. Shippen is here carrying all before her. I assure you we are going on pleasantly. There will be a good deal of dancing, I wish to God you were here with that pidgeon wing you told me about in your letter. I remembered you to B. Maupin. She looked *wonderfully* pleased indeed. I think that girl would be more than willing to see you. She looked better than I ever saw her & was much admired by every one the other night at a Ball. I got a letter from Vaughan lately, he is well. Is it among the possible events that we shall ever all meet again. I am determined [world illegible], when do you intend getting a License. I shall apply when I leave this place. Taylor is driving away stretching his coat tail and that he will do well *I think no man will deny.* [Words illegible] his old Society expression. I hope you will seize [word illegible] opp'y of writing to me, at this period of our well established friendship it would be disgusting to you & beneath me to make lavish profession of regard to give assurance of my wish to correspond with you at whatever distance we may be thrown apart by chance & events not within our control.

There are between 30 & 40 students here this course & they are generally very steady fellows—a few of the old stock remain. Banket [Bankhead?] Deans &c. Banket will make a clever Fellow I think, not forgetting Woodson for whom I have a fondness, he reads and is improving.

I am Dear Watson Yours etc.

Benja. Howard

[Address] David Watson Esquire
Yanceyville,
Louisa County

By Post.

WHEN THE CONVICTS CAME

A Chapter from "Land Marks of Old Prince William."

BY FAIRFAX HARRISON.

Parson Alexander Scott's cheerful report to the Bishop of London[1] on the morals obtaining in 1724 in the eighty miles of Potomac river-front then included in his frontier parish of Overwharton, failed to make note of a recent addition to the population which must already have been beginning to give serious concern to him as to every other gentleman resident in the Northern Neck. These were the convicts who, in pursuance of the act of Parliament of 1718,[2] had been "cast for transportation" to "the plantations."

Virginia had then enjoyed a half century of respite from such importations. In April, 1670, the General Court had ordered[3] "that it shall not be permitted to any person trading hither to bring in and land any jail birds or such others who, for notorious offences, have deserved to dye in England" and the Privy Council had duly confirmed this order, for which Virginia sent Lord Arlington its grateful thanks,[4] but now once more England perpetrated what Benjamin Franklin later termed "the most cruel insult that perhaps was ever offered by

[1] Perry, *Virginia Church Papers*, 313.

[2] 4 Geo. I, c. 11. (Ruffhead, *Statutes at Large*, v 174.) In a curious and provocative study of this statute (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, ii, 12) Dr. J. D. Butler collected, out of the *Historical Register*, the statistic that in the ten years after its passage 2138 persons were transported, of whom, Dr. Butler assumed, the majority were sold in Virginia and Maryland. There are judicious observations on these unfortunates in Scharf, *History of Maryland*, i, 371.

[3] Hening, ii, 509.

[4] *Cal. State Papers*, Am. & W. I., 1669-74, No. 590.

one people to another.'[5] As every reader of Defoe's novels will remember, the surplus of English jails was henceforth disposed of to contractors who became promoters in ordinary of colonial emigration, succeeding to the function of the kidnapping "spirits." Jonathan Forward and Jonathan Wild were now familiar names in America.[6] The fact that Virginia and Maryland attracted English ships to freight their bulk tobacco and could use indentured white servants as well as negro slaves in their agricultural practice caused them to receive more than their fair share of these "king's passengers." It seems that most of those who now came were sold in the newer parts of the provinces and that Stafford became a favorite market.

It was thus that Beverley had been able to say in the original (1705) edition of his *History*, "As for Malefactors condemn'd to Transportation they [the Virginians] have always receiv'd very few and for many years last past their laws have been severe against them;" but when he revised his book in 1722 he was compelled to substitute for this the statement that "tho' the greedy planter will always buy them yet it is to be feared they will be very injurious to the country which has already suffered many murders and robberies, the effect of that new law in England." Virginia had been prompt to protest. The recital of her act of 1722[7] was the source of Beverley's allegation of the "murders and robberies." Hugh Jones testified that when this law was on its passage the Assembly had debated

[5] *Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Smyth, v. 86. He had previously (*ibid.*, iii, 45) proposed, whimsically, that the colonies should retort by exporting rattlesnakes to England.

[6] Hugh Jones speaks of "the Methods now practised by . . . Mr. Forward and some Merchants for sending over continually all sorts of Servants . . . loose Villains made tame by Wild and then enslaved by his Forward Namesake." From the British Treasury papers it appears that one Jonathan Forward, a merchant of London, "had a monopoly of this business for many years" (Andrews' *Guide to P. R. O. Materials*, ii, 230). Dr. Palmer who had an unfortunate habit of perverting the names he read in MS., prints "Jonathan *Howard*" in the certificate of exportation of convicts in 1724, given in *Cal. Va. State Papers*, i, 204. Jones' other playful reference is, of course, to the notorious Jonathan Wild, who, until he was hanged in 1725, employed himself diligently in securing the transportation of those London thieves who refused to do business through his "fence."

[7] C. O. 5: 1386; the title only is in Hening, iv, 106.

but rejected a curious plan. "I cannot here omit mentioning," he said in 1724, "a late design of seating all convicts that should be imported into Virginia in a county by themselves under the care of proper overseers who should confine them from doing any Hurt and keep them to their labour by such methods as are used in Bridewell. The Land intended for this new county is very good and fit to produce Hemp and Flax, which they were there solely to cultivate and manufacture, from whence the county was designed to be called *Hempshire.*" While the intention of the proponents of this plan was declared to be a supply of cordage for the royal navy, there was obviously an implication that the criminals might provide their own halters! The protective provisions of the law as it passed were less novel, being limited to the discouragement of those planters who bought convicts, by requiring them to register with the County Court the names and the offenses for which their servants had been transported. The purpose was the same which dictates the rule of the hunting field that a kicking horse shall have a red ribbon tied into his tail! This seems a modest enough plan, but it was nevertheless promptly vetoed by the Crown on the ground perspicaciously assigned by the Privy Council,[8] that "the difficulties it imposes on the importers of convicts almost amount to a prohibition of the transportation of felons from Great Britain."

The new comers included not only educated unfortunates like George Washington's first tutor and women of the Moll Flanders type, but degraded gin fiends, out of Hogarth's pictures, and sturdy beggars. These last, after completing their stipulated seven years of plantation servitude and being forbidden to return to England, at the risk of being hanged, became idle vagabonds in the colony. Living from hand to mouth, at cock fights and horse races, they seem to have become willing tools for vicarious acts of revenge or spite. The precedent of arson had been set for them in the general and passionate resentment aroused among the obscurantist element of the planters by Governor Spotswood's abortive tobacco inspection act of 1713,

[8] *Acts of the Privy Council,* Colonial, iii, 54.

as appears from the thunders of the Assembly in its act of 1714 "to prevent the malitious burning and Destroying the Public Storehouses of Tobacco Agents,[9] but the first evidence of their criminal activity in the colony is in reference to a private dwelling.

The story, preserved from tradition in *Lee of Virginia,* is well known of how at the beginning of his distinguished career "President" Thomas Lee lost, by fire, his ancestral house, Mt. Pleasant," in Westmoreland and in place of it built "Stratford" with the aid of a royal bounty sent him on that occasion. William Parks' *Maryland Gazette*[10] gave at the time an account of the fire but ventured only a discreet hint at the cause. The *Gooch Papers* now available[11] materially amend Park's estimate of the loss and otherwise modify the tradition but add to the interest of the incident by relating it to a peculiar phenomenon of the Northern Neck of the time.

In a despatch of March 26, 1729[12] Governor Gooch advised the Lords of Trade:

"Nor, my Lords, are these all our Fears: the secret Robberies and other villainous Attempts of a more pernicious Crew of transported Felons, are yet more intollerable: witness the Dwelling House & Out Houses of Mr. Thomas Lee which in the night time were sett on fire by these Villains and in an

[9] The act is not in Hening, but see *Journals H. B.,* 1712-1726, p. 116; Spotswood Letters, ii, 96; and a report by the Sheriff of Essex, April 15, 1715, of the burning of "one of Mr. Buckner's store houses, with some Tobo. and his scales in it" *Cal. Va. State Papers,* i, 181.

[10] In 1895 Miss Kate Mason Rowland communicated to the *William & Mary Quarterly* (iii, 265) the following extract from the *Maryland Gazette*: "February 4, 1728/9. Last Wednesday night Col. Thomas Lee's fine house in Virginia was burnt, his office, barns and outhouses, his plate, cash (to the sum of £10,000), papers and everything entirely lost. His lady and child were forced to be thrown out of a window and he himself hardly escaped the flames, being much scorched. A white girl about twelve years of age (a servant) perished in the fire. It is said Col. Lee's loss is not less than £50,000. The fine large house of Col. Carter on Rappahannock was also burnt lately." A later notice added that certain of Col. Lee's plate had been stolen from his house "sometime before it was burnt," and remarked, significantly, that "the Governor of Virginia has published a Reward of 50 Pounds and a Pardon to anyone of the Accomplices who will discover the rest (except the Person who set fire to the House)."

[11] British Transcripts in the Library of Congress.

[12] C. O. 5: 1321/5, p. 221.

instant burnt to the ground, a young White Woman burnt in her bed, the Gentleman, his wife and three children[15] very providentially getting out at a Window, with nothing but their Shifts & Shirts on their backs, which was all they saved, not two minuits before the House fell in, and this was done by those Rogues because as a Justice of the Peace, upon complaint made to him, he had granted a warrant for apprehending of some of them. They are not yet discovered. In consideration of this Gentleman's misfortune, which he is not well able to bear, and as it arises from the discharge of his duty as a Magistrate, I have been prevailed upon to interceed with your Lordships, that his Case may be recommended to his Majesty, for his royal Bounty of two or three hundred Pounds towards lessening his loss, which was the more considerable by a very good Collection of Books."[16]

The burning of "Mt. Pleasant" was not an isolated act, for arson had become epidemic in the Northern Neck. In an act of 1730[15] the Assembly recited that it was "frequently practiced" and the Governor commented[16] that the severe penalties of that act were very necessary "in a country which is so much crowded with convicts, who after they have committed a crime may easily be concealed by their abettors until they find means to escape into another government." Again,[17] he particularized by

[15] The three children evidently were Richard, b. 17, June, 1723; Philip Ludwell, b. 24, February, 1727; and Hannah, b. 6, February, 1728 (*Lee of Virginia*, p. 125). The next child, John, was b. 28, March 1729, "and died the same day." As this was only a few days after the date of Governor Gooch's despatch, it may be assumed that the experience of Mrs. Lee in the fire was the occasion of the loss of her fourth child.

[16] This recommendation was duly certified to the Treasury and, a year later, produced a warrant in Mr. Lee's favor for £300. (C. O. 5: 1366/5, p. 33; 1322, p. 277.) It does not appear that the criminals were ever apprehended. They had probably escaped to Maryland.

Thomas Lee did not own "Mt. Pleasant," but occupied it as tenant of his nephew, George, son of the third Richard Lee of London. The collection of books was that of his father, the second Richard Lee, and was rich in curious works on medicine. The reason for the general sympathy for Thomas Lee at this time was because he had lately remitted some £500 of his collections as Naval Officer of the Potomac district, to a London merchant who was declared a bankrupt before he had accounted to the Treasury.

[15] Hening, iv, 271.

[16] C. O. 5: 1322, p. 103.

[17] C. O. 5: 1323/5, p. 127.

describing the Northern Neck as "a part of the Country remote from the Seat of Government where the common people are generally of a more turbulent and unruly Disposition than anywhere else, and are not like to become better by being the Place of all this Dominion where most of the transported Convicts are sold and settled."

If legislation was necessary in this situation it proved ineffective. "Abettors" continued to abet and "transported felons" to burn not merely private dwellings but tobacco inspections and other public buildings as well. Thus, following the burning of "Mt. Pleasant," the tobacco warehouses at Coan, in Northumberland; Deer Creek, in Lancaster; and Falmouth, in King George, were similarly destroyed in March, 1732;[18] and, in the June following, the parish church of St. Mark, then recently built in Spotsylvania at public cost, was destroyed by fire and there was "good reason to suspect it to have been wilfully and maliciously done:[19] the motive was assumed to be no greater than that some of the frontier parishoners found its location inconvenient.[20] Arson was not the only crime. Several churches were robbed of their plate[21] and horse stealing was common.[22] But the climax came in the conflagration of the capitol at Williamsburg, which the pius Governor, addressing the Assembly, was moved to ascribe "to the horrid Machinations of desperate villians, instigated by infernal Madness."[23]

And still the convicts came. On July 22, 1737, the *Virginia Gazette* announced:

"We hear from Potomac that a Ship is lately arriv'd there from London with Convicts. Capt. Augustine Washington and

[18] C. O. 5: 1323/5, pp. 101-110.

[19] *Journals H. B.*, 1727-40, p. 151. Dr. Philip Slaughter (*History of St. Marks Parish*, 1877) had no record of this fire.

[20] C. O. 5: 1323/5, p. 89. The Assembly offered a reward of £100 for the conviction of the criminals. That the government was alert appears from the fact that in the same year, 1732, Attorney General John Clayton was recommended for an increase of salary "as criminal Prosecutions are become of late more frequent . . . occasioned chiefly by transported convicts whose morals are not changed by change of air."

[21] *Journals H. B.*, 1742-49, pp. 303, 305.

[22] Ibid., p. 274.

[23] Ibid., p. 235.

Capt. Hugh French took their Passage in her. The Former is arrived in Health but the latter dy'd at Sea and tis said of the Goal Distemper which he got on Board."

In this situation Virginia had recourse, for her own protection, to a diabolically ingenious device. In May, 1740, the Assembly recited[34] that "Whereas his Majesty hath been pleased to send instructions to the lieutenant governor of this colony to raise and levy soldiers for carrying on the present war against the Spaniards in America, and this present general assembly being desirous upon all occasions to testify their loialty and duty: and taking into their consideration *that there are in every county within this colony able bodied persons fit to serve his majesty who follow no lawful calling or employment;*" wherefore the County Courts were directed to impress that kind of cannon fodder to make up Virginia's quota, carefully excepting, however, "any person . . . who hath any vote in the election of a burgess or burgesses to serve in the general assembly of this colony or who is or shall be an indented or bought servant." Such were many of the Northern Neck soldiers Capt. Lawrence Washington commanded before Carthagena and saw die of the ravaging fevers which then wasted an English army, and so also was old Prince William purged of some of her criminal immigrants.

Barradall's simple but cynical plan proved effective beyond its contemplation. Not only did it fill out Virginia's quota of troops in 1740 but it created a precedent of which other colonies took advantage with the hearty co-operation of the Virginia government. Indeed, the available supply of ex-convict soldiers was soon exhausted. Excusing himself in August, 1746, for his failure to recruit a larger quota for William Shirley's provident but unaccomplished *"delenda est Canada"* expedition,[35] Gooch wrote[36] to the Duke of Newcastle:

[34] Hening, v, 94. The author of this *opera bouffe* bill was Edward Barradall, then Attorney General of Virginia, and sitting as burgess for William and Mary College. There is an earlier evidence of his sublety as a draftsman in the act of 1736 (Hening, iv, 514) relating to the Northern Neck proprietary. The job he then did for his client, Lord Fairfax, was not only immediately effective but kept the Virginia courts busy for a century.

[35] The Assembly's authority for Virginia's contribution is in Hening,

"I sent away the week before last for Albany, by his Majesty's ship Fowey, stationed here, one Company which with the utmost care and endeavor during my Indisposition are all the Men could be raised in this Government. For three years past here has been a Succession of Recruiting officers from Georgia, Jamaica and South Carolina who carried away all the idle Fellows out of a country settled only by Planters."

And *still* the convicts came. Every year there graduated from the Northern Neck plantations a new crop of undesirable citizens whose places were taken by new importations. In 1748, passing a strong act against vagrancy,[27] the Assembly referred to them in the language of Barradall's act of 1740, reciting that "divers idle and disorderly persons having no visible estates or employment and who are able to work, frequently stroll from one county to another, neglecting to labour and either failing altogether to list themselves as tithables or by their idle and disorderly life render themselves incapable of paying their levies when listed."

In such an atmosphere a new revisal of the fundamental laws of the colony brought before the Assembly for reconsideration the "Act concerning servants and slaves "which had stood on the statute book since 1705.[28] This act regulated the mutual duties of master and servant, making one rule for Christian servants and another for slaves. There was no convict problem in Virginia when it was passed and, in consequence, the provisions in respect to the "redemptioner" were little different

v, 401. With characteristic art Parkman (*A Half Century of Convict*, chap. xxi) has painted the picture of Shirley's disappointment in 1746. He then had an opportunity to capture Quebec and Montreal and thus complete the work begun by the Massachusetts troops at Louisbourg, but the government at home failed to send the support they had promised, and so Shirley had to wait to see others realize his dream. In 1746 Gooch had been assigned to command on this service a detachment of troops requisitioned from all the English colonies in America, but begged off on account of physical infirmity. The single Virginia company which went, under the command of Capt. Beverley Robinson, spent pany which went, under the command of Capt. Beverley Rosinson, spent eighteen months in camp at Albany and then came home having had some illuminating experience of a larger world but no sight of the enemy.

[27] C. O. 5: 1338, No. 4.

[28] Hening, vi, 29.

[28] Hening iii, 447.

from the custom contemporaneously enforced in England upon apprentices, stern but not implacable discipline. On the other hand, all masters were required to provide for their servants wholesome diet, clothing and lodging and, under severe penalties, were prohibited from administering "immoderate correction" and, specifically, from whipping "any christian white servant naked without an order from a justice of the peace." Furthermore, when the servant's time expired the master was required to set him up as a potential planter with "freedom dues" consisting of "ten bushels of indian corn, thirty shillings in money or the value thereof in goods and one well fixed musket or fuzee of the value of twenty shillings at least." In dealing with the new problems created by the introduction of convicts after 1718, these provisions had in practice apparently been ignored; at all events when the Assembly of 1748 considered the legislation of 1705 and it was proposed to re-enact it without substantial change, the burgesses from the Northern Neck[29] objected. They urged that as one rule had been made for redemptioners and another for slaves when they were the only two kinds of servants, so now a separate and more severe rule should be made for the convict servant; that he had been transported for punishment and to treat him in Virginia as well as the honest redemptioners and, indeed, better than he had ever been treated before, would encourage the government at home to send more convicts, and moreover "may confirm an Odium on this Country that we are like those we encourage, and honest Men will not chuse to live in such Company." The argument on the other side has not been preserved but, being in the middle of the eighteenth century, it certainly was not humanitarian. Doubtless the lowland planter, who then controlled the

[29] At this session of 1748-49, they were,
For Fairfax: Lawrence Washington and Richard Osborne,
Frederick: George William Fairfax and Gabriel Jones,
King George: Charles Carter and Henry Turner,
Lancaster: Joseph Chinn and Peter Conway,
Northumberland: Presley Thornton and Spencer Ball,
Prince William: Thomas Harrison and Joseph Blackwell,
Richmond: Wm. Fauntleroy and John Woodbridge,
Stafford: Wm. Fitzhugh and Peter Hedgman,
Westmoreland: John Bushrod and George Lee.
Culpeper, created at this session, was not yet represented.

Assembly, but did not have to live immediately along side the released convicts as did the gentlemen from the Northern Neck, argued comfortably that so long as England insisted on sending convicts out, it was better for the Dominion that after they had completed their terms they should be encouraged and equipped to take post on the ever widening western frontier, where they would serve as bulwarks for the lowlands against the French and indians; that Virginia had ample precedent in thus disposing of guests who were either uninvited or uncongenial, e. g., the Huguenots of Manakin Town, the Germans of Germanna and Germantown, and, most recently, the "Swissers" and the dour Protestant Irish who had been encouraged to swarm into the Shenandoah Valley from Pennsylvania and now, to the undisguised delectation of those tidewater Virginians who had lead an unsuccessful fight against the extension of the Culpeper proprietary, were giving no end of trouble to Lord Fairfax. We can hear some complacent successor to the practical philistinism of Col. Byrd asserting roundly that all these socially unassimilable immigrants had served a purpose useful to the tidewater; let the convicts do as much and let those who had bought and used them on their plantations bear the burden of equipping them for a similar service.

Whatever were their arguments, the "tuckahoes" controlled the debate.[20] The Northern Neck was out voted and the new

[20] As they continued to do on most similar occasions until after the Virginia constitutional convention of 1829. One of the Northern Neck burgesses, who was having his first experience of a legislature in this Assembly of 1748, then learned the secret of Virginia politics—sectionalism. In 1761 George William Fairfax wrote (*The Fairfaxes of England and America*, p. 128): "I have long observed that the lower members disregard and look upon the Northern Neck as a separate interest, tho' under the same laws." Those who faced the problems of the "back country" at that time generally resented the "tuckahoes." In 1759 old Lord Fairfax had written (*Ibid.*, p. 111) testily of the selfish influence of "James River" in the Assembly, while in 1756 James Maury, the parson of Fredericksville parish, animadverted (*Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*, Putnam's reprint, p. 394) upon the "gentleman living in the lower parts of the country . . . none of them knowing anything of the back country." Governor Fauquier, in his despatch of June 2, 1760 (*Journals H. B.*, 1758-61, Appendix, p. 284) affords us an illuminating glimpse of the operation of the principle of sectionalism on one of the few occasions in which the Northern Neck prevailed. Discussing the act for the reduction of the duty on slaves (Hening, vii, 363) he said, "the contest . . . is between the old Settlers who have bred

bill[31] even increased the "freedom dues" to "three pounds, ten shillings current money." When this reached the Council the representatives of the Northern Neck in that body, Thomas Lee and William Fairfax, renewed the fight. In turn they also were out voted but they filed a strong dissent[32] and ultimately were supported by the Governor in a report to the Lords of Trade.[33] The consequence was that the new "Act concerning servants and slaves" was one of the ten passed at the session of 1748-49 to be repealed by the Crown, by proclamation made soon after Governor Dinwiddie assumed office in 1751.[34]

Virginia vocally resented[35] that particular veto of some of her most carefully considered legislation, but it is interesting to find that though she made no reference to the convicts in her protest, she was so confident of her decision about them that the bill which Thomas Lee, remembering the burning of "Mt. Pleasant," had been unable to stomach, was, after his death, reintroduced by a lowland planter, Secretary Thomas Nelson of York, duly re-enacted and thenceforth was suffered to remain in force.[36]

The Assembly had permanently discarded Edward Barradall's comic mask. The ensuing crops of released convicts, like weeds, scattered their seed. Some of that seed settled down near the Potomac plantations but some was blown far afield by the winds of fate and germinated on the new frontier beyond the Blue Ridge.

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great quantity of Slaves and would make a Monopoly of them by a duty which they hoped would amount to a prohibition, and the rising Generation who want Slaves and don't care to pay the Monopolists for them, at the price they have lately bore, which was exceedingly high. These reasons, your Lords[ps] may guess, are not urged in the arguments on either side; but I believe are the true foundation of the Squabble."

[31] Hening, v, 550.

[32] *Legislative Journals of the Council*, ii, 1034.

[33] Gooch made this report in person after his return to England in June, 1749. C. O. 5: 1327/5, p. 143.

[34] Hening, v, 568. This came too late to prevent the printing of the repealed acts in the Revisal of 1752, and so preserved them for Hening and for us.

[35] *Legislative Journals of the Council*, ii, 1082. This memorial of protest to the Crown is printed also in Hening, v, 432.

[36] Hening, vi, 356. So far as the record goes, the Northern Neck burgesses made no objection to this act. In the Council William Fairfax voted for it.

MINUTES OF THE COUNCIL AND GENERAL COURT, 1622-1629

From the Originals in the Library of Congress.

(Continued from XXX, 55)

A Court at James Citty . . . November 1628

present
Doctor: Pott.
Capt: Smyth.
Mr: Secretary.
Capt: Tucker.

Richard James,[1] Minister deposed sayth that about the third day of this p^r^sent moneth of November at Mr. Pooles[2] Doore hee heard Leif^t^ fflint saie[3] and aske whether his wife had not beene wth the Governo^r^ and ratled [rattled, i. e., scolded] him, afterwards hee wished hee had the Governo^r^ alone, after this w^th^in Mr Pooles howse hee wished for an Easterly Wind to

[1] Richard James was probably a minister who had recently arrived. No other references to him have been found.

[2] At the Census of 1624-5 Robert Poole was living at James City. In August 1619, before the General Assembly, a Robert Poole, probably this man, charged Henry Spilman with speaking ill of the Governor "at Opechancanou's court." In 1627 he owned land in Warwick county.

[3] This fine bit of Elizabethan wrath would make us believe that Captain Flint had, in his younger days, served with Captain Bobadil and Ancient Pistol. He was more prosperous than his comrades in arms. He came to Virginia and settled first in Elizabeth City and afterwards in Warwick county, became quite a large landholder, and survived the trial described in the text to be, at intervals, a member of the House of Burgesses between 1629 and 1647. His behavior, bad as it was, could not have gone further than improper familiarities towards his "daughter-in-law" (step-daughter) Dorothy Beheathland. If it had been otherwise the laws of church and state which reckoned the ties of affinity almost as close as those of blood would have produced a sentence far more severe than "lying by the heels."

bring in a new Governo[r] saying that then hee hoped to have Justice for now hee could have none, And that hee had thinges to open that were not yett opened: Afterwards his wife comeing in to the foresaid howse, and saying hee was freed, one of the Company being then in the howse tould him that hee might goe Wheruppon hee replyed that it was Spleene that sett him by the heeles, wishing a pox take all spleene, for some of them were gon allready and hee hoped that others would, these thinges hee spake after hee had slept in the foresaid howse And this is all that this deponent doth affirme.

Robert Poole gent sworne and ex'ed saith that about(?) the third of this present November Com'ing to this depo[ts] howse wth Leif[t] fflint who was then comitted prisoner by the Governo[r] when hee came to the doore of the said Robert Pooles his howse the said fflint desired that hee might goe to the howse and * * * and when hee came thither hee drew his knife out of his pockett and rann at Gilberte Whitfeild[4] one of the Guard wth the same, the poynt of the knife being towards the said Whitfeild and said, the proudest of yo[u] all Lay hold on mee. Then this Deponent Spake to the Guard to lay hold of him, Whereuppon one William Baker layd hold uppon him, And then the said Whitfeild struck the said fflint uppon the head wth a stick and soe they brought him forcibly into the howse, ffurther this deponent then spake to the said fflint and and said yo[u] are Com'itted heere prisoner, [and heere] yo[u] must stay, then the said fflint said [It is] Spleene that hath done this, there are s[ome of] them dead of the spleene already, and the [rest will] follow. Then this deponent desired the said ff[lint] to sitt uppon the Chest and bee quiett whereuppon the said fflint said the Governo[r] oweth mee two bushells of meale yett, w[ch] I sent him when hee had nothing to put in his head I would hee would pay mee that. Then the said fflint sitting downe uppon the Chest said, oh would Captaine Mathewes were by mee and then I should have right, and repeated these words twenty tymes afterwards—Then this Deponent goeing upp to

[4] At the Census of 1624-5, Gilbert Whitfield, aged 23, who came in the *Flying Hart* in 1621, was a servant of Daniel Gookin at Newport News.

leif[t] Peppetts howse came downe a little while after and found the said fflint asleepe, about two howers after the said fflint wakened, and the first word hee spake was Puffe, send an easterly wind to bring in a new Governo[r] and then I shall have Justice for now I have none, and I have many thinges to open that were never opened yett. Then the said fflint stepped to the doore, and asked, hath my wife been wth him yet, one made answere that she was, then the said fflint said shee hath rattled him, Then Leif[t] Peppett came and tould him hee was dischardged. But the said fflint would not goe along wth his wife but said those that putt mee in shall fetch mee out And this is all that this deponent can say.

L[t] Gilbert Pepett sworne and exam'd sayth that hee heard L[t] fflint speake at M[r] Pooles howse, An Easterly wind to blow to send in Noble Capt Harvey, And then I shall have wright for all my wrong, Afterwards when this deponent tould him that hee was discharged, the said fflint answered hee that put mee in, shall fetch mee out I will not goe, Spleen hath put mee in a pox of Spleene some are gon allready and the rest will followe.

Lucey Peppett the wife of L[t] Gilbert Peppett sworne & exa'ied sayth that shee this deponent heard the said fflint, speaking of the Governo[r], say the Dyvell confound him body and soule I hope an Easterly wind will bring in a new Governo[r] and then I shall have true Justice And this is all that this depo[t] can say.

The Governo[r] at this Court alsoe made . . . to the Councell concerning the behavio[r] of L[t] Thomas fflint towards himselfe at Warwick Ryver at the beginning of this moneth as followeth vizt That himselfe being in discourse wth his Lady and the said fflint concerning a report of some ill Carriadge of the said fflint towards his daughter in Lawe Dorothy Beheathland, and finding fault wth the said fflint for being soe familiar wth the wench further then was fitting, w[ch] thing the said fflint then denyed, afterwards when they tould the said fflint that formerly Sir George Yeardley did not thinke fitt

[8] In 1623 Gilbert Peppett lived at Flowerdew Hundred. Later he owned land at Blunt Point, Warwick county.

that the maid should live wth him, and that now his wife would intreate him that shee might bee drawen from him: otherwise shee would Complaine of it to the Grandmother at her cominge for England. The said fflint replied that noebody should Com'aund her from him, and often repeating these words, The Governo^r^ replyed, why I if I please will com'aund both yo^u^ and her too and all that yo^u^ have uppon good occasion, Then the said fflint answered yo^u^ may Com'aund mee and anything that I have but her yo^u^ shall not, and soe swore many oathes that hee should not; Wheruppon the Governo^r^ did Commaunde him to bee gon out of his Chamber And then the Governo^r^ being neere him, the said fflint spoke in most peremptory manner swearing Zounds yo^u^ will not strike mee will yo^u^ soe the Governo^r^ Com'aunded him away and afterwards that [he] bee laid by the heeles, ffurther the Governo^r^ sayth that when hee sent for the maid, some people [who] heard it did say that fflint had sent a count[er order?] that shee should not come.

It is ordered that the said fflint for his misdemeanour and Contempt shall bee degraded from his title of Lieftennte and shall paie 1000^li^ weight of [Tobacco] for a fine and find suerties for his good behau[iour] from Quarter Co^rt^ to Quarter Co^rt^ untill the Co^rt^ shall think fitt to release him.

A Court at James Citty the . . . November 1628.

present
C: ffrancis West Esqr [Governo^r^ &c.]
Capt: Smyth.
Mr Secretary.

At this Court was reade the petic'on of Martin Peale p^r^ferred against Mr Thomas Mayhew concerning his wages due unto him in the good shipp the Guift, It is ordered that the said Mr Mayhew shall paie unto the said Martin Peale all his wages due unto him for the terme and tyme of his service in the said shipp, The reasons are for that Mr. Mayhew in his answers to the said petic'on confessed he consented to dischardge him and yielded thereunto[?] And because the Gov-

erno[r] testified that Mr. Grindon did often proffer to take his oath that Mayhew was content to pay him his wages when hee did dischardge him.

Uppon the petic'on of Mr John Southerne it is ordered that Richard Powell[6] assignee of the executo[rs] of Nath Jefferys[?] shall appeare on Monday next, and that Mr Southerne shall have a warrant to that purpose.

At this Co[rt] uppon the oath of John Southerne gent and ffrancis [ffenton?] the will of Thomas Gregory, Marchant, was proved to bee his last will and testam[t] and that hee was in p[r]fect sence and memory at the tyme of the sealing and publishing thereof.

At this Co[rt] was reade a petic'on of Joseph Johnson Concerning the damage that Thomas ffarleyes hoggs did in his Corne. It is Ordered thereuppon that the said ffarley shall paie the said Johnson one barrell of Indian Corne for the said damage.

At this Co[rt] it was ordered for that it appeared that Joseph Johnson and George Prowse[7] had offended against an Acte made for the planting of Corne that Joseph Johnson shall paie 100[li] of tobacco and George Prowse 50[li] of tobacco for a fine.

Joseph Johnson of Archers hope plaunter and Abraham Avelin doe acknowledg to * * * to our sovereigne lord the kings Ma[tie] forty Pounds of lawfull Englishe money [on] Condic'on that the said Joseph Johnson shall appeare at the next Quarter Co[rt] and in the meanetyme to keepe the peace towards the kings Ma[tie] and all his leige people and especially towards Thomas ffarley

It is ordered that John Dimmocke shall remaine [the] next yeare a servant uppon the plantac'on of Thomas ffareley at Archers hope amongst his other servants to the use of Humfrey ffareley[8] of London . . . And that if Mr Humfry ffare-

[6] Richard Powell does not appear in the Census of 1624-5; but Nathaniel Jeffreys who came in the *Gift* was then living at James City.

[7] At the Census of 1624-5 George Prouse or Prowse, who came in the *Diana*, lived at Archers Hope.

[8] Thomas Farley came from the City of Worcester. The will of Roger Farley, of the City of Worcester, Gentleman, was printed in this Magazine XX, 178. He names a brother Thomas Farley and sons Humphrey and Thomas Farley. It is very probable that these were the persons named in the text.

ley doe not the next yeare send over sufficient proofe that the said Dimmocke is to serve him then the said Dimmock shall have a share of the Cropp making allowance for Chardges

It is ordered that Humfrey Moore for that hee arrested John Palmer and did not p'secute his suit against him at this Co'^t^ shall paie the said Palmer 20^li^ of tobacco for costs and damages and remaine forever[?] nonsuited.

A Court at James Citty the 2 of December 1628.

Capt: ffrancis West Esqr Gouerno^r^
Capt: Smyth:
Mr Secretary.

It is ordered that John Burland[*] shall paie unto Mr Thomas Smyth 600^li^ of tobaccoe for two men servants delyvered unto him according to a Coven'nte formerly made betweene them.

A Court at James Citty the 8 daie of December Anna D'm 1628

ffrancis West Esqr Governo^r^ &c.
Dotor Pott
Capt: Smyth
M^r^: Secretary

At this Courte was read the petic'on of William Hosier Concerning certain goods wch were to bee delyvered to the said Hosier by John Crosse deceased, marchant of the Shipp the Truelove at New England amounting to the value of twelve pounds starling, And for that it appeared to this co'^t^ that the said Hosier had paid by bill, wch was sent over to M^r^Hurte[?] the Owner of the said shipp the som'e of twelve pounds for the said Com'odities And for that the said Crosse is deceased, and his goods are com'itted to Mr Hawkridg the M^r^ of the said Shipp, and it appeares that the said Com'odytes were not delyvered to the said Hosier in New England It is therefore ordered that the said Mr Hawkridge shall delyver to the said

[*] John Burland lived at "The Plantation Over The Water" in 1623.

Hosier as much gods or tobaccoe as shall amount to the said som'e of twelve pounds.

It is ordered that John Chaplaine[10] of Chaplaines Choise shall have a Com'ission of admstrac'on graunted unto him of the goods of Ensigne Isaak Chaplaine who is supposed to bee cast away uppon ye sea.

Susan Balden[11] sworne and exa'ied sayth that Leonard Huett the same night hee dyed being in p^r^fect sense and memory said If I dye I give unto yo^u^ goodman ffryer my chest with all that is in it and I hope there is enough in yor house to content you for what yo^u^ have done for mee, and I desire yo^u^ not to demaund a penny of any man but to bury me yor selfe.

It is ordered that the said ffryer shall keepe the said Chest and all the goods therein according to the will of the said Leonard.

A Court at James Citty the 9th of December 1628

p^r^sent
C: ffrancis West Esqr Governo^r^ &c
Doctor Pott.
Capt: Smyth.
Mr Secretary.

Captaine Smyth delyvered into this Co^rt^ a bill wherein Nathaniell Causey standeth indebted unto the said Capt: Smyth in the some of one thousand pounds of tobaccoe wch is for the use of Mrs Anne Moseley, widdowe, late the wife of John Moseley deceased.

At this Co^rt^ was brought in the will of Mr Edward Grindon[12] deceased and was proved to bee his Last Will and testam^t^ by

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[10] Several notes on Ensign Isaac Chaplaine have appeared in this Magazine. At the Census of 1624-5, "his kinsman", John Chaplaine, aged 15, who came in the *James* in 1622, lived with him at Chaplaine's Choice, in the present Prince George county.

[11] Susan "Baldin" was probably Susan Baldwin, wife of Hugh Baldwin, who in 1624-5 lived at Pashbehays in James City. George Frier, who came in the *William & Thomas* and his wife Ursula, who came in the *London Merchant* were also inhabitants of Pashbehays.

[12] For note on Edward Grindon see this Magazine I, 441.

the oath of Martin Peale and that hee was in p[r]fect sence and memory at the making thereof.

At this Co[rt] Ester Clariett brought in an Inventory of the goods of Henry Bradford[13] deceased, and uppon her Corporall oath testified it to bee a true and p[r]fect inventory.

It is ordered that Robert Pires and Nathaniell [Causey?] for going aboord the shipp the William and John w[th]out Lycence contrary to an order then made shall pay thirty weight of tobaccoe [a] peece for a fine.

Uppon the petic'on of John Stone[14] late servant unto M[r] George Sandis It is ordered that notice been given to M[r] Sandis that hee make known what interest hee Claymes in the said Stones service and for that it is alleadged and testified by L[t] Thomas Purfury that the frends of the said Stone did pay for the most part of the Chardges of his passage And further the said Stone offereth to prove that hee is above the age of one and twenty yeares the Co[rt] doth thinke it equitable that unless the said Stone bee taught and brought upp in some trade or occupa[tion he at] the end of his yeares [time] have some valuable C[onsideration] for his service Or that the said M[r] Sandis or some other whome it shall Concerne doe alleadge some better cause than only the bare Clayme of his transportac'on hither, Nevertheles in the interim it is thought meete the said Stone to Continuew for this yeare in the same Service And the Co[rt] doth resolve the next yeare to take it into their Considerac'ons what may bee alleadged on eyther side.

At this Co[rt] was p[r]ferred a petic'on by M[r] Harman[15] Concerning some assurance to bee graunted him in a p[r]cell of Land Situate on the Easterne shore of the Bay uppon the southerly side of the old plantac'on Creeke The Court taking the same into Considerac'on and understanding that there hath beene an uncertaine Rumo[r] of a greate quantity of land there or neere unto the same belonging unto the Lady Dale But Considering that for as much as there remaineth heere noe certaine knowledge thereof eyther uppon Record or otherwise, and deeming

[13] In 1624-5, Henry Bradford, aged 35, who came in the *Abigail* was a servant of Capt. Wm. Pierce at James City.

[14] John Stone, a boy, who came in the *George* in 1621, was a servant of George Sandys at the Treasurer's Plantation, 1624-5.

[15] See this Magazine XXIX, 36 &c.

that it is unreasonable and unlikely that soe greate a tract of Land as from Cape Charles thither should belong to any p^rticuler divident hath given leave and p^rmission to the said Charles Harmer to plant uppon one neck of Land there situate and Lying uppon the mouth of the said old plantac'on creeke butting Northerly uppon sandy barren land, southerly uppon a pond called Maggotty bay pond westerly uppon the shoare of the Bay, and Easterly uppon the first branch on the south side of the Creeke aforesaid being allmost incompassed by the said Branch and not exceeding the quantity of one hundred acres of Land, and to hold the same wth molestac'on or incombrance of any.

But if the same shall appeare w^thout all question or Controversie to appertaine unto the Lady Dale then the said Charles Harmer if hee bee forced off shall accept of Reasonable satisfacc'on for Costs and Chardges, otherwise to paie to the publique an annuall rent for the same, and enjoy it, as to others is granted.

A Court at James Citty the 22th of . . . Anno D'mi: 1628

p^rsent
Capt. ffrancis West Esqr Governo^r
Doctor: Pott.

It is ordered that Henry Bagwell[16] in dischardge of a bill of one hundred and tenn pounds of tobbacoe due unto Hugh Hawkridge and John Crosse shall paie threescore and five pounds of tobbacoe wch is in full of his due uppon the said bill the Remainder beinge allready satisfied by Humfrey Moore, Marchant, who was a joynt debt^or^ wth the said Mr Bagwell by the same bill.

At this Court was heard a Controversie depending betweene Mr Staffuerton[17] and Tho: fflint And for as much as the Co^rt^ did find that the Cause could not well bee decided being very intricate and full of difficulties wth a full C^rt^ it was therefore referred to be determined at the next Quarter Court.

[16] Henry Bagwell, aged 35 in 1624-5, who came in the *Deliverance* in 1608, lived at West and Shirley Hundred in 1624-5.
[17] A note on Peter Strafferton has already appeared.

Uppon the moc'on of Mr Cremer it was ordered that all such tobaccoe, as shall appeare to bee rec for Mr Staffuerton in whose Custody soever it shall remaine shall bee sequestred untill the Quarter Co^{rt} when the Cause shall bee fully heard and determined And that a warrant shall bee directed to Captaine Mathewes to sequester the same accordingly.

Uppon the moc'on of Mr. Sharples[18] for that it appeared uppon the deposic'on of Mr William Harwood that Captaine Wilcocks stood indebted unto to the said Mr Sharples at the tyme of his death in the som'e of one hundred pounds of tobacco uppon a certaine bill of parcells showed to this Co^{rt} The Co^{rt} hath thought fitt and accordingly ordered that the administrator of the said Captaine Wilcocks shall satisfie and paie the said som'e of one hundred pounds of tobaccoe out of the estate of the said Captaine Wilcocks rateably as the debts due unto other men are satisfied out of the said estate.

At this Court was shewed a bill of exchange directed to Captain William Sakre for the paym^{t} of six pounds sterling wch was for the passage of his servante Thomas Gregory in the Samuell under the Com'aunde of Captaine Preene And for that this Co^{rt} was informed uppon the oath of Captaine Moyne that the said Captaine Saker dyed before the said bill of exchang was satisfied and that it is yett unpaid, It is ordered that the said Captaine Preene bee paid the said six pounds out of the estate of the said Captaine Saker in this Country.

A Quarter Co^{rt} at James Citty [the] 20th daie of January An^{o} D'mi 1628.

[p^{r}sent]

ffrancis West Esqr Governo^{r} &c.
Doctor Pott.
Capt: Smyth.
Mr. ffarrar.

At this Court Thomas fflint and Mary his wife did p^{r}sonally come into this Court and surrendred all their estate right title

[18] Sharpless had been formerly clerk of the Court. William Harwood, Commander of Martin's Hundred, is referred to in a letter of Robert Bennett, 1623, published in the April number of the *American Historical Review* as, "of Barnestable", Devon.

and interest in one thousand acres of land scituate in Stanley Hundred wth the L'res patents and all the benefit and advantage that may accrew thereby unto John Brewer[19], Marchant, according to affeoffm^t^ thereof made from the said Thomas and Mary to the said John Brewer.

John Brewer, Marchant, sworne and exa'ied sayth that Mary the wife of Thomas fflint did demaund of Captaine Pearce tenn barrells of Corne, but Captaine Peirce denyes hee owed soe much unto her but was in the ende contented to give her eight barrells and a halfe wch hee promised should bee paid her, and that hee would give order before his dep^r^ture for England for the paym^t^ thereof unto her.

At this Co^rt^ was made a petic'on of Richard Taylor against William Sharpe and others for detayning land from wch was graunted him by patent from Sr George Yeardley And for that the said Patent was shewed to the Co^rt^ It was the opinion of the Co^rt^ that the said Taylor shall enjoy his land so graunted him according to the teno^r^ and true meaning of the said patent w^th^out the molestac'on of any p^r^son or p^r^sons whatsoever, there being nothing p^r^duced to the Contrary.

The Court uppon good Considerac'on therein had have thought fitt and accordingly ordered that Anne Jackson wch Came from the Indians shall bee sent for England wth the first oportunity of Shipping, and that her brother John Jackson shall give security for her passage and keepe her safe till shee bee shipped aboard, The wch Mr Harwood hath undertaken to see p^r^formed.

A Court at James Citty the 21st of January 1628.

P^r^sent

C: ffrancis West Esqr Governo^r^
Doctor: Pott
Capt: Smyth.
Mr: ffarrar.

[19] For note on John Brewer, see this Magazine III, 182-184. In addition to the land purchased from Flint he also owned 1000 acres in Nansemond still known as "Brewer's Neck". He was probably the father of John Brewer, Burgess for Isle of Wight 1657-8 and ancestor of Richard L. Brewer, of Nansemond, Speaker of the House of Delegates of Virginia at the last two sessions.

Nicholas Spencer[20] sworne and exa'ied sayth that John Lightfoote about three howers before hee dyed being in p[r]fecte sence and memory Called for William Spencer who being come unto him asked the said John Lightfoote howe he did whoe answered I am very sicke and further saide I doe give yo[u] my whole estate and desire yo[u] to see mee well buried.

Nicholas Atwell aged twenty yeares or thereabouts sworne and examined sayth that about two daies before John Lightfoote dyed hee heard William Spencer aske the said John howe hee did who answered I am very sick and I think I shall dye whereuppon the said W[m] Spencer demaunded of him if hee had noe freinds or bothers[brothers] in England on whom hee would bestowe any thing to w[ch] the said John Lightfoote answered noe, I will give yo[u] my whole estate and this is all this depon[t] can saye.

Edward Willmoth aged sixteene yeares or thereabouts exa'ied sayth, that two howers before John Lightfoote dyed hee heard him say unto Nicholas Spencer that his Cattell and Tobaccoe did soe trouble his minde that hee could take noe rest, and thereuppon willed this deponent to call William Spencer unto him that hee might make an ende of it And when Will'm Spencer was Come unto him hee asked him how hee did who answered very Ill, And this Dep[t] heard the said John Lightfoote say unto the said William Spencer I give yo[u] all that I have but lett it alone untill toomorrowe morning and then I will send for halfe adozen men to make it over unto yo[u].

The Co[rt] hath ordered that the said William Spencer shall injoy the estate of the said John Lightfoote according to the said Nuncupative will And if any p[r]son hereafter can shewe better right or title thereto, the said William Spencer shall bee accomptable for the same.

[20] Nicholas Spencer does not appear in the Census of 1624-5. He was not ancestor of Nicholas Spencer, later Secretary of State, for the latter was a native of England. William Spencer, of James City, "Yeoman and Ancient Planter" was granted 72 acres in James City Island in 1624-5. At that time he lived on the Island with his wife Alice and their daughter Alice, aged 4 years. William Spencer, a child, probably their son, died there in 1624. William Spencer was a Burgess for Mulberry Island, 1623. John Lightfoot, who also lived at James City, died without issue.

A Commission of Adm'str'con was graunted unto Mrs Adams[21] of Martins Hundred uppon the estate of her husband.

Nicholas Tompson of the age of 25 yeares or thereabouts sworne and exa'ied sayth that John Burland coming to Mr Richard Bennett demaunded of him three men wch his Uncle was to delyver unto him whereuppon Mr Bennett brought out and tendered unto him three, of the age of seventeene yeares, the youngest of them as hee then told him but Burland refused to accept of them and soe dep^rted.

Robert Bennet of the age of eighteen yeares or thereabouts sworne and exa'ied sayth as much in effecte as Nicholas Thompson hath allready averred.

It is agreed betweene the parties that Mr Richard Bennett shall delyver unto the said John Burland heere in Co^rt w^thin convenient tyme after the aryvall of the London Marchant three men, and that if hee have noe men sent him in the said shippe, then Mr Bennett shall give Burland such other satisfacc'on as shall bee thought fitt.

Uppon the Moc'on of John Wareham, Mar[chant] for that Mrs Adams Confessed that her husband was to give 300^li of tobaccoe for a servaunte sold unto him, The Co^rt hath ordered that Mrs Adams shall give satisfacc'on for the said man according to the said agreem^t.

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[21] Robert Adams, who came in the *Bona Nova* lived at Martin's Hundred 1624-5.

[22] This Richard Bennett was later the Governor of Virginia. The Richard Bennett who died in Virginia a year or two before is described in these minutes as son of Edward Bennett, of London. In the *American Historical Review* for April is printed (p. 505 &c) a letter of much interest, from Robert Bennett, of Bennett's Welcome, Va., June 9, 1623 to his brother Mr. Edward Bennett, merchant in Bartholmew Lane in London. In it he refers to his own children, then in London, to Edward's wife, and to his brother Richard and the latter's wife. The "Uncle" referred to in the text was evidently Edward Bennett. Robert Bennett died during 1623. It seems strange that with such a number of clues that neither Edward Bennett nor his nephew Governor Richard Bennett have, as yet, been placed with certainity by any English will. Robert Bennett, named in the text, as aged 18, was, no doubt a brother or cousin of Richard.

(To be concluded)

VIRGINIA GLEANINGS IN ENGLAND

Contributed by Reginald M. Glencross, 176 Worple Road, Wimbledon, London, S. W. 20, England.

(Continued from XXX, 44)

RICHARD CROSHAWE of London, Esq.

Will dat. 26 Apr. 1631. To be buried in p'ish. church of St Bartholomew where I have long been a parishioner & now dwell, in the vaults. To 66 poor labouring men 8 s. a piece for pair of new woollen stockings, a new cap & pair of new shoes & a black coat at 12 s. Of these, six to be of Almsmen of Goldsmiths Hall, they to go before the Company of the Goldsmith's at my funeral. To the seven prsh's. of this Ward, viz. St Margaret Lothbury, St Christophers, St Mildred, St Benet-Fink, St Martin Outwich, St Peter le Poor & All Hallows in the Wall £50 a piece. To Christ's Hospital £100. To St Bartholomews Hospital £100. To St Thomas' Hospital £50. To Bridewell £50. To poor p'rsoners in Ludgate £10 a piece. To poor of this p'ish £50. For church stock there £50. To prs'oners of Compter in Woodstreet £100, of Compter in the Poultry £100. For 20 poor boys born in Marton & Mackworth co. Derby, for apprenticeing £5 each. To 20 poor ministers, 10 in London whereof Mr. Freake of St Barthews to be one, & 10 in co. Derby within 15 miles of Derby, £10 each. To my kinsman Robert Carter of Osmaston Derbyshire, after death of his mother, lands I bought of Mr. Cregson & his wife, in fee. To Richard Carter & Thomas Carter sons of my sister Frances C. of Osmaston, widow, & to the children of her dau'r. Alice Leeper dec., £500. To my cousin Carter, of Ashborne, & his children £500. £100 to my poor kindred in Derbyshire. To my kinswoman Ellen Carter now E. Hemsley £500 & forgive all my [her?] husband owes me. To my neice Judeth Haddon

lease of my house in Lothbury wherein she dwells, great debts her husband Francis H. owed me. To sd. Judith £1,000 or to her children. To Marie Haddon £500. To Richard Haddon, Elizabeth Haddon £500 to be paid to them the sd. children at their marriages or 21. To my neice Alice Child, ring & to her two sons £10 a piece. To my neice Ann Marshe £500, her husband Henry M. to pay his now dau'r. Ann M. £500 at marriage. I forgive my nephew Sir Thomas Metham £500 he owes me. To him & to his Lady my neice £1,000 more, he to leave her £500 besides furniture which is in my keeping. To Mrs. Smith & to her uncle Mr. Jordan Mecham, a ring each. To Mrs. Elizabeth Osborne wife of Mr. Henry O. a ring. To my ancient friend Capt. Jewes, a ring. To my cousin Daniel Darnelly £50 & to Stephen Darnelly £20 (& to Edward Darnelly £20) & to the two children my late cousin Darnelly had by Mrs Crooley £10 a piece. To Mrs Tompson £10. I forgive Stephen Darnelly all he owes me. To my ancient & unfortunate friend & brother Isaacke Woder & his wife, £200 & forgave them what they owe me. To them, in fee, lands I bought of them in Cornwall, & deeds concerning copper works, sd. Isaac to leave all to his sd. wife. If she die without issue sd. lands in Cornhill (*sic*) to my next heirs. To my cousin Mr. John Milward 50 pieces in gold & of my cousin his now wife, the same. To my cousin Elizabeth Milward £500. To my cousin Thomas Milward £40 & to his three brothers, John, Henry & Raphe £20 each & to nurse to continue her care of them £5. To George Taylor a ring, he never to forget respect to his good master, mistress & their children. To my friend Mr Richard Davies & his wife, 30 pieces of gold for them & his dau'r., much rejoicing in friendship between him & my cousin John Milward. To my ancient friend Mr. Charles Bostocke 50 pieces of gold, he to leave it to his five children. To Andrew Willingham, glover, £5 & forgive him all he owes me. To Henry Hawke, embroiderer, the same. To George Charles, my tailor £10. To the son of Osmand Pulcher, a glover, £5. To my old fellow Roger Spencer 12d. a week for life. Among my nephew Methams servants, £20. To Sir Francis Harris of Essex, Knight, £5. To my ancient friend

Lady Isabel Sames £50 of debt to me of her son Sir Gerrard S., she to leave it to my godson Richard Sames. To Sir James Palmer, Knight, 10 pieces of gold. To my ancient friend Mr. Simon Chambers which was servant to the Lord John Harrington & his Lady, £10, you shall hear of him at Sir Robert Heathe's, the King's Attorney. To the children of John Coles whose mother was my ancient servant £40. Old Mrs. Westcombe, widow, to be remembered in my gift to p'ish of St. Margaret Lothbury. Mrs. Johnson, widow & Hassard or his wife or children to be remembered in gift to St. Bartholomews. To my kinswoman Awdrey Carter, in fee, my great capital messuage in St. Martin Outwich, London, which I bought of Sir Robert Napier, wh'rin Mr. Bateman now dwells. To her house wherein I now dwell etc. To town of Derby £1,250 for a preacher to read a weekly lecture every Friday in forenoon in p'ish church of All Hallows there at £20 a year. £15 a year for seven poor inhabitants of sd. town, £28 a year for poor of Marton & Mackworth. To my two servants George Elkinton & Robert Davies £50 a piece & remit the time the latter has to serve me by his indenture. To my chief servant John Robinson who hath long dwelt with me £500. To my friend Mr Richard Holdsworth, parson of St. Peter the poor £10 etc., he to preach at my funeral. To Mr. Grant, parson of St Bartholomews £5 & remit him £12 he owes me. To my nephew Sir Thomas Metham, black nag, he to be well cared for when old. To Mr Shute of the Poultry, Mr Shute in Lombard Street & Mr Beamond, blacks. To Mr Melborne in the exchange towards better maintenance of his great charge of children £5. Diamond hat band etc., to my neice the Lady Metham. Turkey ring to my friends Mrs. South & her dau'r. To my kinswomen Judith Haddon, Ellen Hemsley, Anne Marshe & Alice Childe a diamond ring each. £100 for good cheese for pensioners of this p'ish. To my surgeon Mr. Browne £10. To my apothecary Mr. Buckner £10. To my nephew John Croshawe £200. To my old friend Mr. Buckner £5. To Company of Goldsmiths of London £400 for their poor. To my sd. kinswoman Awdrey Carter, for preferment in marriage £2,000. If she marry without consent, all her legacies to my

neice Judith Haddon & her children. To my friend Daniel Benefild £30. To my friend Mr. Leake in Fleet Street £10 & to Charles Bragg & Geo. Allcotry £5 each. To the Companies of the Artillery Garden in London, two silver pots. To my godson Richard Croshawe son of William C., late of Whitechapel, preacher, house etc. without Bishopsgate against the Spital & my house at Basingshall in London & house at Mortlake, Surry, all in fee, for his education in learning, also £20. To Robert Crashawe who dwells with me [Mr.?] John Watkins of London, merchant, £20. To my nephew Sir Thomas Metham, coat etc. To my kinsman Mr. Child, livery gown. Ty my kinsman Mr. Maroke, the like. To my friends Sir Paul Pinder & Mr. Robert Bateman, Chamberlain of London, blacks, etc., also to my friend Mr. Barnard Hide & to Mr. Richard Bishopp, John Cooper & Francis Hordman my friends Sir Thomas Metham, my nephew & my nephew John Croshawe of Henor, Derbyshire, & Mr John Milward to be ex'ors. Friends Richard Davies, Daniel Benefild & Charles Bostocke to be overseers. Rest of estate amongst my kindred. As to my little fenements in St. Martin Outwich & elsewhere, these to ex'ors for same purposes. I forgive my nephew Doctor Same & his wife my neice, the world of offences & unkindnesses done to me & desire to be forgiven. £20 a year for weekly lecture in St. Bartholomew's Church every Wednesday morning. To sd. town of Derby £100 for householders of Marton & Mackworth [25 sheets of paper]. Witnesses: Hughy Perry, John Graunt, Ric. Woodward, Ca: Bostocke Scr(ivener), Geo. Allcotrie, Tho. Bostocke.

Cod. given by word to Henry Hutchins £5. To Bostocke £2. To Mordica Keydon £5. To Cha. Bostocke's two sons £10 a piece. To his three dau'rs. £5 each. To his godson Rogers £5. To Ales Child (to make up £100,) £90. To her two children to make up £50 each £80. To Kate More (to make up £40) £20. To Robert & Geo. More £20 each £40. To Mr. Bostocke for my Will £5 To Humphreys of the Exchange £5. To Mr. Beamond £5 & at another time £10. Sum £307. To Baldwyne of the Exchange £5. To Company of Goldsmiths two voiders of silver of £50.

Prob. 3 June 1631 by Sir Thomas Metham, knight & John Milward, ex'ors. Power reserved for John Crashawe the other ex'or.

Prob. 4 July 1662 [1632?] by J. C. the other ex'or.

Confirmed by Sentence 2 Johannis 1632. [25 June].

[Persons of the name Crashaw or Croshaw were associated with the settlement of Virginia both as members of the Virginia Company and as colonists.

This will of one of the great London merchants is one of numerous examples showing an open-handed charity and a loving remembrance of friends, which might be a model to modern testators.

Richard Croshaw was evidently from Derbyshire, and was related, though he does not state how, to Rev. William Croshaw.

The first of the name in Virginia was "Captain Rawleigh Crashaw, of Kequotan, gent., and ancient planter", "who has dwelt in this colony fifteen years and rendered many worthy services." He is so described in a grant of 500 acres at "Old Poynt Comfort" made to him in 1623. He was a member of the London Company, came to Virginia in 1608 and was a member of the House of Burgesses in 1623. When the Massacre of 1622 occurred he was on a trading cruise in the Potomac and challenged Opechancanough or any of his men to fight him naked; but the offer was not accepted. Crashaw spent much time amongst the Indians and was intimately acquainted with their habits and customs. From his first arrival, when he became a friend of John Smith, he took an active part in the business and defence of the Colony. Smith seems to have had a high opinion of his knowledge of Indians and Indian warfare and Crashaw was one of the authors of complimentary verses prefixed to the *Description of New England* (1616).

"In the deserued honour of my honest
and worthie Captaine John Smith
and his Worke.
Captaine and friend; when I peruse thy booke
(*With* Iudgements *eyes*) *into thy* heart *I looke*:
And there I finde (*what sometimes* Albyon *knew*)
A *Souldier, to his* Countries-honour, *true.*
Some fight for wealth; *and some for* emptie praise;
But thou alone thy Countries Fame *to raise.*
With due discretion, *and* unda[u]nted heart,
I (*oft*) *so well haue seen thee act thy Part*
In deepest plunge of hard extreamitie,
As forc't the troups of proudest foes to flie,
Though men of greater Ranke *and lesse* desert
Would Pish—*away thy Praise, it can not strait*
From the true Owner: *for, all good-mens tongues*
Shall keepe the same. To others that Part belongs.
If, *then,* Wit, Courage, *and* Successe *should get*
Thee Fame, *the Muse for* that *is in thy debt*:
A *part wheof* (*least able though I bee*)
Thus heare I doe disburse, to honor Thee.
RAWLY CRASHAW"

(Could the person "of greater rank" have been Percy?)

Raleigh Crashaw probably died early in 1625 (present style) as on March 13, 1625, there is in the General Court records an order referring to Capt. Francis West as administrator of "Capt. Crashaw".

He was married and may have been the father of Joseph and Richard Croshaw who for many years lived in the adjoining county of York.

Capt. Richard Croshaw and Major Joseph Croshaw are stated, in the records of York county to be brothers. Capt. Richard Croshaw (born 1621, died April 1669), had a son Benjamin, who died without issue, and daughters who have descendants. Major Joseph Croshaw was a Burgess for York 1659 and 1660, and died April 10, 1667. He had sons Benjamin and Joseph, who died without issue, and daughters who have descendants.

William Croshaw, Puritan divine and poet, who is named in the will, was son of Richard Croshaw, of Handsworth, near Sheffield, Yorkshire, was born in 1572 and died in 1626. He was educated at St. Johns College, Cambridge, where he entered as a sizar May 1, 1591. He was B. A. 1591-2, was ordained and became a preacher at Bridlington and Beverley, Yorkshire; became M. A. 1595 and B. D. 1603. In 1601 he was made a Prebend of Rippon, appointed preacher at the Inner Temple, and rector of Burton-Agnes, Yorkshire. In 1617 he became rector of St. Mary's Matfellon or Whitechapel, London. His will was proved Oct. 16, 1626. He was married three times, his first wife being the mother of the poet Richard Crashaw. William Crashaw was a good scholar, and eloquent preacher and a strong Protestant. He was the author of various works. He was a member of the Virginia Company. On Feb. 21, 1609-10, he preached a sermon before Lord Delaware and the Virginia Company on the eve of Delaware's departure for Virginia. Extended extracts are printed in Brown's *Genesis* 360-374. At the conclusion the preacher addressed Lord Delaware: "And thou most noble Lord, whom God hath stirred up to neglect the pleasures of England, and with Abraham to go from thy country, and forsake thy kindred and thy father's house, to go to a land which God will show thee, give me leave to speak the truth. Thy ancestor many hundred years ago gained great honor to thy house, but by this action thou augmented it. * * * Remember thou art a general of Englishmen, nay a general of Christian men; therefor principally look to religion. You go to commend it to the Heathen, then practice it yourselves; make the name of Christ honorable, not hateful unto them".

William Crashaw also wrote a long "Epistle Dedicatoire" to "Good Newes from Virginia" (1613). See Brown's *Genesis*, 611-620.

Richard Crashaw, the poet (1613-1649) was the only child of Rev. William Crawshaw by his first wife. He was educated at the Charterhouse, and at Penbroke and Peterhouse, Cambridge, and had the degree of M. A. 1638. His epigrams, published when he was barely 21 show marvelous capacity. He was intimate with Nicholas Ferrar. He went to Paris in 1641, was living there in great distress in 1646, went to Italy in 1648 or 1649 and died there August 25, 1649. He became a devout Catholic. He was author of "Steps to the Temple"—poems, mainly sacred. "His sacred poems breathe a passionate fervor of devotion which finds its outlet in imagery of a richness seldom surpassed in our language". It is hoped that farther investigation may connect the Va. Crashaws with the merchant, the divine and the poet.]

VIRGINIA QUIT RENT ROLLS, 1704

(Continued from XXX, 30)

PRINCESS ANNE COUNTY RENT ROLL, 1704.

John Carraway	180
Tho More	100
Henry Chapman	250
Geo. Poole	1085
James Whitehurst	600
Tho Morris	63
Tho Joy [Ivy?]	600
Thomas Scott	100
Geo Smith	250
Tho Hife	200
Richd Smith	200
Tho Hattersley	90
Tho Jolley	150
Mich Ventress [Fentress?]	450
Capt. Blomer [Plummer] Bray	270
James McCoy	200
Francis Bond	264
Edwd Wood	50
Jno Morrah	200
Alexr Morrah	200
Ruth Woodhouse	450
Horatia Woodhouse	525
Joseph White	330
Jos Basnett	250
Owen Wilbe (Wills)	100
Mr. Wm Corneck	1974
Jno Oakham	390
David Scott	600

Jn° Keeling	2000
Adam Keeling	500
Humphry Smith	50
Jn° Aclise [Ackiss?]	130
Capt. Will. Crawford	2650
Richd Williamson	450
Edwd Tranter	180
Jn° Sherland	800
Robt Rany	70
Edwd Old	450
Coll Lemuel Mason	650
Mr. Francis Emperor	400
James Kemp	681
Bartho Williamson	400
Symon Hancock, Junr	200
Geo Batten	150
Matthfl Brinson	250
Mr. Edwd Mosely Senr	1000
Wm. Martin	200
James Joslin	100
Alex^{d} Lilburn	500
James William	100
Mr. Henry Spratt	1736
Symon Hancock Senr.	300
Tho Walk	298
Jn° Kemp	340
Randolph Lovett	100
Edwd Davis	200
Jn° Sammons	150
Eliz^{b} Edwd°	50
Mr. Benja. Burrough	800
Jn° Muncreef	140
Matt. Pallett	600
Mrs. Thurston [Thruston]	290
Lancaster Lovett	1850
Robt. Cartwright	260
Jn° Cartwright	100
Nath: Macklahan [Macklanahan]	100

Adam Thorowgood	700
Henry Walstone	800
Edw[d] Land	400
Tho Hall	400
Wm. Catherill	150
Doct[r] Browne	600
John Richardson	1000
Rob[t] Richmond	1000
Tho Benson	225
Lewis Pervine	800
Edw[d] Attwood	400
Wm. Moore	414
Mr. Henry Woodhouse	3000
Tully Emperor	300
Jn[o] Godfrey	170
Wm. Dyer	700
Edw[d] Cooper	200
Wm. Ship	300
Jn[o] Buck	250
Peter Malbourn	280
Benja. Robt[s]	100
Capt. Jn[o] Gibbs	3100
Sarah Sandford	1200
Henry Harrison	300
James Lemon	1500
Wm. Wallsworth	100
W. M. Capps	1500
Jacob Taylor	80
Steph: Pace	50
Adam Hayes	1360
Wm. Chichester	400
Robt Dearemore	514
Capt. Francis Morse	1300
Patrick Anguish	150
Tho. Brock	400
Wm: Brock	100
Jn[o] Sullivant	200
Fran. Sheene	300

Jn° Acksted	400
Charles Hendley	100
Duke Hill	70
Job Brooks	150
Jn° Brooks	100
Tho Turton	110
Peter Crosby	250
Jn° Pisburn	314
James Sherwood	200
Edwd Cannon	550
Richd Capps	100
John Doley	640
Matthew Mathias	80
Mr James Peters	889
John Owens	190
Josias Morris	900
Tho. Mason	140
Wm. Wishart	200
Jn° Russell	300
Stephen Sall	250
Timothy Dennis	100
Geo. Walker	425
Wm. Ashby	100
Charles Griffin	216
Symon Franklin	100
Alice Thrower	125
James Wishart	225
Richd Draught	500
Doct^r Wm. Hunter	80
Mr. Jo° Sanders	203
Wm. Grinto	650
Henry Fitchgerreld	200
Coll Anth° Lawson	3100
Capt. Jn° Thorowgood	940
Robt. Thorowgood	940
Henry Suthern	640
John Wharton	850
Joseph Doller	150

Jn° Biggs	600
Francis Jones	100
Tho Lurrey	100
Tho Walker	820
Steph. Swaine	450
Edwd Mulsin	100
Geo. Bullock	300
Jn° Leggett	400
Mark Tully	300
Wm. Walstone	400
Mark Powell	550
Eliz^b Nicholls	500
Hugh Hoskins	50
Wm. Burrough	50
Wm. Warren	100
Capt. Hugh Campble	800
Geo. Warrinton	400
James Tully	400
Wm. Lovett	1300
Wm. Grant	150
Tho. More	100
Richd Whitehurst	350
Capt. Tho. Cocke	800
John Connis	175
Tho Griffin	200
Tho Spratt	600
Jn° Russell	150
James Heath	550
David Duncon	100
Daniell Lane	350
George Fowler	600
Jn° Booth	350
Gills Collier	500
Jacob Johnson	1700
Alex^r Willis	150
Richd Bonny	2000
Mr. James Doage	784
Antho. Barnes	200

Jn° Macklalin	100
Tho Etherington	108
Jn° James	328
Wm. Woodhouse	300
John Mayho	160
Joseph Perry	35
Tho Perry	650
Mr. Argoll Thorowgood	1000
Capt. Wm. Moseley	600
Jn° Moseley	325
Wm. Smith	180
Wm. Symmons	400
Adam Forguson	120
Benj[a] Commins	200
Jn° Elkes	500
Patrick White	1250
Rich[d] Jones	200
Evan Jones	600
Mich Jones	200
Rich[d] Wicker	300
Henry Snaill	250
M[r] Sam[ll] Bush [Boush]	550
M[r] Tully Robinson	500
Jn° Briberry	50
W[m] Moseley	50
Capt. Christ° MerChant	400
Rich[d] Cox	50
Matt Godfrey	150
Thomas Tully	600
Hector Denby	600
Tho Keeling	700
Wm. More	100
Tho Cason	550
Sarah Jackson	600
Jacob More	200
Totall	98728

Henry Spratt

(To be continued)

MILITARY RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL, MAY 15, 1778

[Copied from Mss. in Archives Dept. Va. State Library and contributed by Robt. B. Munford, Jr., member Virginia Historical Society.]

"Sundry Matters referred by the Governor with the Advice of the Council to the Consideration of the General Assembly.

1st From every appearance at present it seems evident that the Scheme adopted by the last Assembly for raising volunteers to reinforce the grand Army will not succeed.

2d The March of the Second Regiment of State Infantry to join the grand Army and the Draughts of men for Monsr Loyautes Corps from the Regiment of State Artillery which has not yet been nearly filled, have so reduced our Regular Force that it is totally inadequate to the Defence of our Garrisons. The employing of Militia for that purpose is found to be attended with many difficulties, affords less Security and greatly enhances our expenses.

3d Sundry Resolutions & proceedings of Congress have been received since the last Session and are sent herewith. The Assembly Will please to be referred to them.

4th The Situation of the grand Army with respect to provisions has been so alarming as to threaten no less than the final disposition of it.

The Letters from Congress & General Washington while they imported this, called for every possible aid from this State. The most vigorous & proper measures the executive power could devise have been pursued. Mr. John Hawkins has been appointed purchasing Commissary & to him & sundry others employed before him occasionally very large sums have been advanced.

Congress have been infromed of the whole matter, approved of what has been done and promise to refund the Money speedily.

5th Many great Losses have been sustained by the Traders of this State & those of foreign Countries on this Coast for want of proper pilots. In order to stimulate Men of that profession, by advice of Council, an additional Encouragement of four Shillings per ton, besides their daily pay, was promised by the Governor to the pilots for every Foreign or State vessel safely brought into port.

6th For the further Security of Trade four small Batteries are ordered to be erected on the Eastern Shore. These seemed absolutely necessary as the Enemy are closely blocking up the Channels through which our Vessels formerly passed into North Carolina, and our Trade must in future be principally carried on by the Way of that Shore.

7th In order to make the provision of Cloaths & other necessaries for the Virginia Troops in Continental Service as directed by the last Assembly Duncan Rose esqr has been appointed agent & has procured various articles to the amount of about one hundred thousand pounds which will be forwarded to the Army as soon as possible.

8th Orders are sent to the agent for this State, in France, to Ship twenty thousand stands of Arms agreeable to the Directions of the last Assembly for the use of the Militia.

9th In the prosecution of Trade on the public Account it has been found impossible to convey the produce of this Country to foreign ports in Quantities sufficient to pay for the Articles we wanted to purchase. In order to remedy this Inconvenience, the Governor by Advice of the Council did by Letter empower William Lee esqr Agent for this State in France to borrow a Sum of Money not exceeding two Millions of Livres & to pledge the Faith of this Commonwealth for the payment of the Same in Tobacco or other produce of this Country.

10th The Gentlemen who were appointed to Congress to Audit the Accounts of this Commonwealth against the Continent have made some progress in that Business. But it is as yet unfinished. And it is to be feared from the great difficulty already experienced of procuring Gentlemen who live

very remote from this place to attend & finish a work of this Nature that much delay will yet attend the final accomplishment of it.

11th From the encreasing Commerce & Intercourse with the French Nation and often receiving & sending Despatches of the greatest Importance in that Language, the executive power has been repeatedly embarassed as the members of it are not accurately acquainted with the French Tongue. Interpreters have been occasionally employed. But ill Consequences were perceived to follow either from the Ignorance or Design of some of them. The Governor therefore in order to remedy these Evils by Advice of the Council, did appoint Mr. Charles Bellini to act in the Capacity of French Secretary with a Salary of two hundred pounds per annum till the pleasure of the Assembly should be known. From the accomplishments of Mr. Bellini there seems no doubt of his Fitness to fill this office in which Secrecy, Fidelity & Knowledge are so essentialy necessary.

12th Since the last Session of Assembly Isaac Avery Esquire Resigned the Naval Office for Northampton and Thomas Parsons esqr was appointed to that office till the pleasure of the Assembly should be known.

13th Also Isaac Smith esqr resigned the Naval Office of Accomack & Robins Kendall Matthews esqr was appointed to the same till the Assembly signify their pleasure thereupon.

14th Sundry Ship Carpenters employed in the public yards were drafted to serve in the Continental Army under the Act of the last Session of Assembly; and on the earnest solicitation of the Navy Board and the Superintendants of the Ship Yards, the Governor by advice of the Council did desire the officer commanding the Continental Troops here to permit the said Carpenters to continue in their Yards. It was said great Detriment would ensue from the Loss of these Carpenters as others could not be got to supply their places. An exemption of these Workmen from Militia Duty in future it is supposed would tend to promote the public Good.

15th Information hath been received of several persons within this State having joined the Enemy as Traytors & leaving considerable Estates real & personal behind them. The Laws

seem to leave doubts as to the manner of proceeding against such offenders. A Speedy Method seems necessary to prevent the practice of these Frauds generally and to secrete them.

16th Upon considering the appointment given to Mr Loyauté. The executive power was induced to be of opinion that he had not a right to exercise Command over the officers of the Military in this State at large but was to confine it to the Corps of one hundred men who were to be trained by him in the manner which the Assembly directed. However it appears Mr. Loyauté understands his appointment to the office of Inspector General gives him the Command of the Regiment of Artillery if he should see occasion to exercise it. In order to clear this point from future Doubts the Governor & Council request the Assembly will be pleased to declare whether Mr Loyauté in his post of Inspector General is to assume such Command.

17th The Death of Jacob Bruce esqr makes the Appointment of another Auditor of Public Accounts necessary.

18th The Several preceeding Matters with others which necessarily required large Expenditures have been the Cause of great Emissions of paper money. These added to former Emissions and a prodigious influx of Continental Money occasioned by the great Supplies to the Army drawn from this State have given such a Shock to public Credit that the price of Labour and every necessary has got to a height truly alarming and proves an inconceivable Clog to the prosecution of public Affairs."

[Endorsement on back of the Mss. as follows:

"Recommendation from Govr & Council of certain matters".

May 13, 1778"]

NOTES AND QUERIES

KENMORE*

FREDERICKSBURG, VIRGINIA

The handsome old home built about the middle of the eighteenth century by

COLONEL FIELDING LEWIS FOR HIS BRIDE BETTY WASHINGTON

This solid brick structure is now and will be for generations to come, a magnificent example of this type of Colonial Architecture—the type consistent with the culture, wealth and attainments of its illustrious occupants. The most striking feature of this famous old mansion is its attractive interior decoration. The fact that many of the artistic frescoes were designed by young George Washington, adds a subtle and distinctive charm.

Kenmore, a beautiful colonial mansion in Fredericksburg, Va., was the home of Col. Fielding Lewis and his wife, Betty Washington, General Washington's only and well beloved sister. It is the only Washington home which is not cared for either by a patriotic society or by appreciative owners. But Kenmore is on the market, and if not speedily secured, its handsome grounds will be cut up in building lots and its whole environment changed.

The house was built about 1752, for that was the year Col. Lewis bought the land on which it stands. It is of brick, a beautiful specimen of colonial architecture, with its walls two feet thick, its large handsome rooms and its interior wood work finished with the most exquisite refinement of detail.

But its chief interest lies in its association with General Washington. His frequent visits here to his sister, in spite of his manifold commissions and duties, testify to the warm affection which existed between them. He designed the elaborately ornamented ceilings and mantels which adorn the house and sent two Hessian prisoners, artisans, captured at the battle of Trenton, to carry out his artistic conceptions.

Col. Fielding Lewis was a man of large fortune, fine family and great prominence in the Colony, and when the Revolutionary War came on there were none more fervently patriotic than he. His two older sons were with their uncle, the General. Ill health prevented him from

* It gives us great pleasure to reprint the official circular of the Kenmore Association and join in asking for them a generous response.

VIEWS OF KENMORE

taking the field himself, but his great influence was used and his fortune freely given for the cause of Liberty.

The Virginia Assembly, July 1775, appointed Col. Lewis Chief Commissioner for the Manufactory of Small Arms ordered to be established in Fredericksburg, said to have been the first one established for the Colonies. It was in working order before the first of the year and continued throughout the War, furnishing arms and ammunition for the troops. He advanced seven thousand pounds (thirty-five thousand dollars) of his own money for this vital enterprise. In a letter written in February, 1781, he said, "But for my advances the factory must have been discontinued." At one time he was so embarrassed that he could not raise the money to pay his taxes. (Calendar of State Papers, Vol. 1, p. 503).

It is the desire of The Kenmore Association of Fredericksburg, Va., to save Kenmore. Because of its association with Washington, because of its historic interest, because of its beauty, we are making an appeal to the nation to help us, for its connection with Washington makes it a national asset. Unlike many of the noted colonial mansions, it is easy of access on the Dixie Highway, between Washington and Richmond, and could be made a shrine and a memorial for all America. The price is thirty thousand dollars.

This is an endeavor started by a few earnest women to preserve Kenmore for future generations, with all its history and all its beauty. All donations are recorded and will be returned if we fail, but America will not fail.

Now cannot we Americans and descendents of the men whom Washington led, whom Col. Fielding Lewis wrecked his fortune to man with muskets, pay back to his memory a part of the thirty-five thousand dollars which he so freely gave for our liberty.

Mrs. Vivian Minor Fleming, President
Mrs. C. O'Conor Goolrick, Vice-President
Miss Dora C. Jett, Registrar

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE VALLEY.

Corrections.

The April number of the Magazine contained an article by the undersigned entitled "The Settlement of the Valley" in which a number of errors exist.

The errors were due to causes for which neither the writer of the article, the Editor of the Magazine, nor the printers, were responsible, and it is not necessary to state the true cause here.

John Lederer, the German explorer, states that he visited the Valley in 1670, and not in 1707, as printed on page 170.

The map of Louis Michell appeared in the January number, 1921, and not in April, as printed.

On page 171 the sentence should read that the South Branch of the Potomac was visited by white men in the year 1717.

On page 173, 1724 in the first line should be 1742.

On page 180 the reference to the Stevenson house should have read that both stories were built of heart pine logs.

On the same page read Harrison for Harris and the same reading in note 18 on page 181.

The paper was prepared by the writer and revised and corrected three times before its dictation. There are errors in punctuation, in diction, in tenses, in numbers, singular and plural, for which the writer is in no way responsible, but they do not destroy the sense of the paper and no attempt will be made to correct them.

CHARLES E. KEMPER.

THE BEST LIKENESS OF STONEWALL JACKSON*

The following statement was written not long before his death by the late Rev. Jas. R. Graham, D. D., a close friend of Stonewall Jackson, and for Sixty-two and a half years Pastor and Pastor-Emeritus of the Presbyterian Church at Winchester, Va. A copy was forwarded to his son, Rev. H. Tucker Graham, D. D., formerly President of Hampden-Sidney College and now a Pastor at Florence, S. C., who has given it to the Secretary of the Virginia Historical Society to be used as he may elect.

* * * * * * *

A pastel portrait of Stonewall Jackson is on exhibition in Baltimore, belonging to Mrs. Julia McCaw, and several erroneous statements have been published respecting the photo from which it was copied. Several persons, knowing that I am acquainted with all the facts touching the photo, have urged me to give a statement of them to the public. As you see, I have yielded to their importunity. Having written the article, I did not feel at liberty to put it in print till it was submitted to Dr. William P. McGuire (a Confederate soldier and an uncle of Dr. Stuart McGuire of Richmond) as it largely concerns his family. He read it this afternoon, and not only heartily approves its publication, but distinctly confirms from his own recollection every statement that is made. He was present at the dinner referred to, and at a very impressible age.

* * * * * * *

My attention has several times been called to an article going the rounds of the press, purporting to give the history of the picture of

* The photograph described in this note was reproduced in our April 1922 Magazine.

"Stonewall" Jackson, now on exhibition in Bendann's Galleries in Baltimore. Of the early history of the picture itself I have no personal knowledge, but the statements concerning the photograph from which it was copied are altogether conjectural and in the main inaccurate.

That photograph was taken in Winchester by Routzahn very late in October, or early in November, 1862, when Jackson was in camp near Bunker Hill, and but a few days after receiving his commission as lieutenant-general. He and some members of his staff were dining with Mrs. Hugh McGuire, the mother of Dr. Hunter McGuire, the distinguished medical director of Jackson's army. A few of the general's friends in town were invited to dine with him. At the table my seat was directly opposite to his, and I carefully observed his appearance, which had changed a good deal since the previous winter, when he and Mrs. Jackson were for some months members of my family. The change was altogether in his favor. He had grown stouter and more robust; was in perfect health, in fine spirits and entirely at ease. He probably never appeared to better advantage.

As we rose from the table the daughter of our hostess said to him in a voice tremulous with doubt, yet most persuasive in tone: "General Jackson, I would like so much to have your picture". Knowing how averse he was to sitting for his picture, and how often similar requests had met with disappointments, I was curious to hear how he would phrase an excuse that would extricate him from this new embarrassment. To my astonishment, however, his answer was both prompt and gracious —"Thank you, thank you, Miss Gettie. I'll go at once and have it taken". And on our return to the parlors, without resuming his seat, he took leave of the company. Before sunset two of us who had dined with him were summoned to the studio to pass judgment upon the "proofs". There was no hesitation in selecting the one, which, from that time, has been universally accepted by those who knew him as the most faithful representation of him. It is an absolutely perfect likeness of the general as he appeared that day. The next day a finished picture was sent me from the proof we had selected, which now hangs in my library, and from which many copies have been taken.

While in the studio, the photographer mentioned an incident connected with the sitting that may be of interest to others, as it was to us. When the general had taken his seat before the camera it was noticed that a button was missing from his coat and regret was expressed, as its absence would impair the picture. But he met the difficulty by saying, "The button is in my pocket: if you have a needle I will sew it on." The needle was supplied, and stripping off his coat, the button was soon replaced. His sartorial skill, however, proved less exact than his stragetical, for the replaced button (the third from the top on his left breast) is seen to be somewhat out of line.

It is from this photograph that the pastel portrait now at Bendann's

is copied. With that portrait I have been familiar ever since it was brought to Winchester, more than forty years ago, by its owner, Captain Thomas (Dr.) McCaw, an officer of my church. It is a wonderfully exact reproduction of the original in posture, figure and dress—in everything, indeed, except the coloring, which Kester, the artist, felt at liberty to add. If, as I have compared the two, I have seemed to miss from the pastel the exact features and expression found in the photograph, it is because absolute exactness can be produced by the camera alone.

The article referred to is in error both as to the date of the photograph and the connection of General Bradley T. Johnson with it. We are indebted altogether to the winning appeal of a Winchester girl for a picture, which Mrs. Jackson has pronounced "the best likeness extant" of our great general.

I will add that when the army moved from Winchester, November 21, 1862, the "negative" of this picture was taken to Richmond. Of its subsequent history I have no definite information.

GRAY, WICKHAM, &C.

(See XXX, 64, &c.)

Joseph Gray and Sarah Simmons were married Dec. 14, 1729, and had issue.

By a second marriage he had five daughters and one son. Of these,

Mary Gray mar. 1st Littleton Tazewell, and had one son Henry, who died at the early age of thirty-three.

Henry Tazewell became the father of Littleton Waller Tazewell, afterwards Governor of Virginia, and who was named for his maternal grandfather, Col. Littleton.

Mary Gray married 2nd the Rev. William Fanning of Brunswick Co., Virginia.

They had one daughter, Mary Smith Fanning, who, being the half sister of Henry Tazewell, was the half aunt (?) of Littleton Waller Tazewell—later Governor of Virginia. Curiously enough after her death this nephew of hers and her bereaved husband were both aspirants for the hand of the same lady—Miss Elizabeth Maclurg, who married John Wickham.

Mr. John Wickham and his first wife, Mary Fanning, had two sons, William and Edmund Fanning Wickham. Mrs. Wickham died in 1799.

Wm. Fanning and his brother married two sisters, Lucy and Anne Carter, daughters of Robert Carter of Shirley.

Wm. F. Wickham and his wife Anne, lived at Hickory Hill in Hanover county, and were the parents of Williams Carter Wickham, afterwards general in the Confederate Army.

John Wickham, who died young.

Williams Carter Wickham married Lucy Taylor, a grand daughter of Col. John Taylor of Caroline.

Edmund Fanning Wickham married Lucy Carter, and had three sons and two daughters—

John Wickham, judge of one of the highest courts in St. Louis, who married Miss Graham, and brought up a large family of sons and daughters.

Leigh and Alfred Wickham who died unmarried.

Lucy Carter, who married George H. Byrd of Brandon and New York, and has sons and daughters of whom four only are living,

Wickham Byrd who married Miss Burwell and has one daughter.

William Byrd, has several children.

Anne Harrison Byrd, unmarried.

Lucy Byrd, married Dr. Elliot of New York, and has two daughters—

Mary Fanning Wickham, married Julius Porcher of South Carolina, who was killed at the battle of Missionary Ridge. They had two children—

Samuel married and has several children.

Anne Carter married Gen. C. StG. Sinkler, and died, leaving three daughters, all of whom are married.

Mr. John Wickham married for his second wife, Miss Elizabeth Selden Maclurg, daughter of Dr. James M. Maclurg, who was the uncle of the late Dr. McCaw of Richmond, both of them beloved physicians in the old days of long ago.

John Wickham and Elizabeth Maclurg lived in the house now known as the Valentine Museum which he built. Here they brought up a very large family—all of whom are now dead, and their descendants scattered from the East Coast to the West, from the North to the South.

One can hardly think of a part of this country in which there is not a representative of this family. In Richmond there are only four, Mr. and Mrs. T. Ashby Wickham, Mr. Henry T. Wickham, Mrs. R. Emmett Richardson and their families.

POCAHONTAS

Her Son and Granddaughter

Proofs from Contemporary Sources.

Any one who has a speaking acquaintance with the details of our early history knows that the facts in regard to the marriage of Pocahontas and the line of descent from her can be proved in the fullest and most satisfactory way. Notwithstanding this, it appears that some people in various parts of the country have loudly proclaimed that no

such descendants exist and have caused uneasiness among some of the good folks who, on Saturday, wish to attend the unveiling of the statue of the famous Indian girl at Jamestown.

To clear the matter up, I ask your permission to make a statement of the case, and, to use a real estate term, make an abstract of title. I will use only the testimony of contemporaries and of contemporaries who were in position to have exact knowledge of the subjects they wrote of.

First, as to the marriage. Exhibit A.—A letter from John Rolfe to Sir Thomas Dale, telling of his love for Pocahontas and his desire to marry her(most accessible in Meade's "Old Churches and Families of Virginia," I., 126-129. Facsimiles of the original letter are at the State Library and the Virginia Historical Society).

Exhibit B.—Letter from Sir Thomas Dale, June 18, 1614, to the Bishop of London, telling of the marriage of Pocahontas (Meade I., 79).

Exhibit C.—From Hamor's "True Discourse" 1615. "Long before this time a gentleman of approved behavior and honest carriage had been in love with Pocahontas and she with him . . . . Powhatan sent an old uncle of hers, named Opachisco, to give her as his deputy in church and two of his sons to see the marriage solemnized, which accordingly was done about the fifth of April."

Exhibit D.—Letter, June 18, 1614, from Rev. Alexander Whitaker: "One Pocahontas or Matoa, the daughter of Powhatan, is married to an honest and discreet English gentleman, Maister Rolfe" (Hamor's "True Discourse," 1615, p. 59).

Exhibit E.—"The Coppie of the Gentleman's letter to Sir Thomas Dale, that after married Powhatan's daughter." (Then follows the letter, signed "John Rolfe"). (Hamor's True Discourse," pp. 61-67).

Next as to the son of John Rolfe and Pocahontas. Exhibit A.—Letter from John Rolfe to Sir Edwin Sandys, dated "James Town, this 8 of June, 1617." (This letter was written immediately after Rolfe's return to Virginia).

"My wife's death is much lamented, my childe much desired when it is better of strength to endure so hard a passage, whose life greatly extinguisheth the sorrow of her loss, saying all must die, but 'tis enough that the childe liveth. I know not how I may be censured for leaving my childe behind me (goes on to say that the voyage from Gravesend to Plymouth showed that the infant could not endure more) . . . at Plymouth, Sir Lewis Stukeley . . . most earnestly entreated to have the keeping of him until my Brother took farther order . . . (then asks Sandys to) contynue yo'r noble favor and furtherance even for my childe's sake, being the lyving ashes of his deceased mother." (From the original among the Ferrar Papers at Magdalen College, Cambridge, England, and printed in the "Virginia Magazine of History and Biography," X., 134-138).

Exhibit B.—Letter from Governor Argall to the Virginia Company, March 10, 1617: "Powhatan goes from place to place visiting his Country, taking his pleasure in good friendship with us, laments his Daughter's death but glad her Childe is living; so doth Opachancano, both want to see him but desire he may be stronger before he returns." ("Virginia Magazine of History and Biography," XI., 404).

Exhibit C.—Letter from the Virginia Company to Argall, Aug. 22, 1618: "We cannott imagine why you should give us warning yt Opachancano, and the Natives have given the Country to Mr. Rolfe's Child, and that they would reserve it from all 'till he comes of years." (The Company seems to have been greatly irritated at any suggestion that the Indians had any control of the territory granted by the King to the Company). (Records of the Virginia Company, II., 52).

Exhibit D.—"An Extraordinary Court for Virginia on Monday the 7th of October, 1662. Mr. Henry Rolfe in his Peticon desiringe the Estate his brother John Rolfe, deceased, left in Virginia, might be enquired out, and converted to the best use for the maintenance of his relict wife (John Rolfe had married again after the death of Pocahontas) and for his indemnity, having brought up the child his said Brother had by Powhatan's Daughter, w'ch Child is yet lyving and in his custodie." ("Records of the Virginia Company," II., 105-106).

Exhibit E.—Will of John Rolfe, of James City, in Virginia, Esquire, dated March 10, 1621, proved May 21, 1630. (After providing for his wife and his children by his last marriage, gives) "a parcel of land in the country of Tappohannah (in the present Surry county) to son, Thomas Rolfe" (Water's "Gleanings," 29-30).

Exhibit F.—"Thomas Rolfe petitions governor to let him go to see Opachankeno to whom he is allied and Cleopatra, his mother's sister, 17 December, 1641. Randolph MSS." (Conway Robinson's notes from old Virginia records, printed "Virginia Magazine of History and Biography," XIII., 394).

Exhibit G.—Deed, dated June 30, 1654, and recorded in Surry county, 1673, from Thomas Rolfe to William Corker, conveying "Smith's Fort" and other lands in Surry, the property of said Thomas Rolfe, "by gift of the Indian king." (Surry county records).

Lastly, as to the granddaughter of Rolfe:

Exhibit H.—On the fly-leaf of a volume of the Purvis Collection of Virginia Laws, now in the Virginia State library, is written by Robert Bolling, the emigrant, the date of his birth, etc., "& in the year '75 married Jane, the daughter of Thomas Rolfe, gent, by whom he had one son, John Bolling, Born ye 20th day of Jan'y., 1676." (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXII., 104).

Exhibit I.—Among James City county records (since destroyed) was a deed communicated to the "Southern Literary Messenger" by the well-known antiquary, Richard Randolph: "This indenture, made 1st

October, 1698, between John Bolling, of the County of Henrico and parish of Varina, gent, son and heir of Jane, late wife of Robert Bolling, of Charles City county, Gent, which Jane was the only daughter of Thomas Rolfe, de'd., and William Brown, of Wilmington parish, in the county of James City, for one thousand acres of land, commonly called The Fort on Chickahominy river as per patent granted to Thomas Rolfe." (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, I., 447).

The rest is too easy to be worth discussion.

(The above, first published in the Richmond *News Leader* on the occasion of the unveiling of the statue of Pocahontas at Jamestown, is now reprinted at the request of members of this Society.)

W. G. S.

OREGON NATIONAL GUARD USES MERIWETHER LEWIS' CREST

SALEM, Or., Jan. 19.—(Special)—Hereafter, if Oregon's sons are ever called to defense of their country, as they were in '98 in 1916, and again in 1917-18, they will go into battle under the coat of arms of Colonel Meriwether Lewis of the old "Oregon trail." Adoption of the crest that came to the Oregon country with the Lewis and Clark expedition in 1805, was announced today by George A. White, adjutant general of the state, as the official crest of the Oregon National Guard. This selection is subject to approval by the Secretary of War and upon being approved will be embroidered into the regimental colors of the state, which may be Oregon's future battle flag, if the country is ever again forced into conflict.

The government is encouraging the states to adopt crests for their colors, as a result of the complaint growing out of the world war when the identity of state units was all but submerged by the United States. The crest will hereafter replace the shield of the United States on the breast of American eagle. All crests adopted by states must conform to the rules and best practices of heraldry, according to a federal announcement of the scheme.

Adoption of Colonel Meriwether Lewis' arms was decided upon by Colonel White after a careful study of Oregon's traditions and insignia. The Lewis crest consists of a dragon's head holding in its mouth a hand and, by association, is symbolical of the heroic expedition of two army officers, Lewis and Clark, who blazed the trail to Oregon.

* * * * * * *

The enclosed clipping may be of interest to you since it concerned a Virginian who with a compatriot opened up this great Northwest to civilization. As an Army (Major, Engineers Reserve Corps) officer

and a Virginian, I was much interested to see that the arms of Col. Lewis will be perpetuated.

If you are interested I will endeavor to secure for you a copy of the adopted crest of Oregon's National Guard.

Very truly yours,

JNO. D. GUTHRIE,

U. S. Forest Service,

Portland, Oregon.

LETTER FROM MRS. RICHARD KENNON, 1814.

Mecklenburg Sep. 3rd 1814

When I received your letter my dear Solomon, I was so much obliged to you, for your affectionate attention in not suffering the servant to return without a few lines from some part of your family; that I resolved to answer it as soon as my numerous avocations would allow me time to scribble. I was pleased in two points of view; in the first place, I was delighted when I considered it a proof of filial regard from one of my adopted children; to devote the minutes he could have spent more beneficially to himself, on his pillow, enjoying the blessings, and imbibing the renovation which "tired nature's sweet restorer balmy sleep": bestows, in order to inform me of my beloved George's safe arrival in and departure from Warrenton; I felt all the mothers sensations when I thought of it in that way. But when my vanity presented to my minds eye; the figure of an interesting young man, sitting in a solitary apartment after midnight writing to me; I almost began to fancy myself a belle of the present, instead of the last century; but alas, not even vanity can prevent my recollecting; that I am bending under age, infirmities, cares, and anxieties; but then I hope I shall be a second Ninon; for I number so many youths in my train of admirers; that I am satisfied my list, is as long as the antiquated French woman could have produced. You ask my advice my dear young friend, on a subject always of great consequence to persons at your time of life; I think myself very knowing in those matters; "for I have been a notice taking body from my youth up"; but you are so cautious, and ambiguous that I know not what to say; how can I tell whether the object is worthy of you? unless I am told who it is; you say she does not require the vulgar distinction of a name, as there is none like her; but to me the name is the "cream" of the secret; for there are so many nonpariels that I shall never discover certainly who this comet is. I have a shrewd guess; "but I wont name no names"; because I hope I am wrong in my conjecture; for perhaps you are like the poor old Don, in love with ideal perfection; and your Dulcinia, like Del Tobaso; appears as different from what she really is; as the country girl Sancho

describes winnowing wheat; was from the charming creature the Knight had pictured to his imagination. No Enchanter in ancient days my dear Sol. could cast more potent spells around you, than a fascinating female; for their eyes have the same power of the Rattle snakes; and very often are as pernicious in their effects; for tho' the owners do not swallow their victims; they lead them to a worse, because a slower destruction. How many promising young men have I known, yes, been acquainted with myself, who from unfortunate attachments; have been lost to themselves, and to their friends. Resist then my dear Solomon the wily charmers; until you are sure of their worth; and that you cannot be on a short acquaintance; for all belles try to please the beaux; by dressing their faces in smiles, their eyes with witchery; and their bodies in the most becoming garbs; their real tempers are often concealed so effectually; that the doting lovers think them angels but find them unamiable women, when marriage dispels the charm, which love has raised. "To speak in disrespectful terms of love (says Mrs. Wollstonecraft) is I know high treason against sentiment and fine feelings; but I wish to speak the simple language of truth, and rather to address the head, than the heart. To endeavor to reason love out of the world, would be to out Quixote Cervantes, and equally offend against common sense; but an endeavor to restrain this tumultuous passion, and to prove that it should not be allowed to dethrone superior powers; or to usurp the Scepter, which the understanding should ever coolly wield, appears less wild. Youth is the season for love in both sexes; but in those days of thoughtlessness; provision should be made for the more important years of life, when reflection takes place of youthful imprudence." You see my young friend, how that celebrated woman writes on this all-important subject, as people of your age consider it. Were you already in love; I would minister more gently to a mind diseased; but as you are only dreading the ailment; I want to keep you out of danger; and not suffer you to run blindfolded to the brink of a precipice, from which there is generally a difficulty in returning to the place from whence you set out. I am not so much of a Virginian; as to advise you to be rash and unthinking; temerity is seldom productive of good consequences; whereas prudence and foresight prevent evils, which when encountered we find very troublesome; and often feel the sad effects as long as we live. Cannot you perceive Solly, that the short, and the long of this circumbendibus is; that you are to try not to get in love? but to set this Cerce, or Siren, or whatever she is, at defiance; not by braving her charms; and saying, Who is afraid, but simply by the wiser method, of avoiding her. Fabius you know, preserved his country by retreating with skill and judgment; and believe me it is better; than to hazard an engagement, when we have a formidable enemy to oppose us. The paper you sent us was very acceptable; for it gave me good news. Ontario; a place which at this time, is

one of great, very great interest to me. Oh, may the Omnipotent preserve my dear boy from the dangers by which he is surrounded; and grant that he may gather one glorious Laurel, to deck his brow; and his mothers heart will rejoice; and she will bend in devout gratitude to the Source of all good for such inestimable blessings. I have now my young friend, three of my most valued worldly treasures, gone to meet the enemies of their country; for Erasmus is gone among a Troop of Volunteer Horsemen to Richmond; to offer their services, to aid in repelling the invaders of their native soil. The day after the news arrived of the Destruction of the Capital of the Union; our Patriotic little Band assembled, and were soon on their march to Richmond. I have so often described my sensations on similar deprivations; that it would be a kind of tautology to repeat the same sentiments; I will only say, the same trust in Almighty goodness shall enable be to bear up under this new trial, as has hitherto supported me. His poor wife; is not so well used to such separations as Sally and myself are; therefore cannot bear it so well; but I endeavour to inspire her with a hope, their services may not be wanted; and they may return; for should the tormenting marauders return to their ships, to meditate new mischief; there will not be any immediate occasion for our Volunteers. This hope comforts us all; for even if they should be kept down there; if there is no fighting, it will not be so bad; you see I am not like a Spartan, or Roman mother; but those Dames I never wished to resemble; for I do not think they had the feelings of human creatures. I never admired, and therefore have no ambition to tread in their steps.

Poor Major Nelson, I can see is very unhappy; tho' he shows great fortitude, in bearing with seeming composure his present suspence; for the papers mention a dreadful battle fought by Izzard's Army; his amiable and justly valued Tom is among them; for he is under Issard's command; what has been his fate we know not; we are all anxious about him; but his Father's fears are greatly excited; his mother remains in happy ignorance; for her state of health is so bad, it is not difficult to keep the newspapers from her inspection; she therefore escapes the uneasiness of suspence, which is not trifling; and Heaven grant us good reports of our favourite; for he is justly dear to all who know his worth. Ah, my young friend these are dismal times; but as Koutousoff said; Moscow is not all Russia; so we may say, Washington is not the United States; and who knows, but the burning of that, may be the forerunner of as fortunate events to America; as the fall of the ancient seat of the Czars was to Russia; and Lord Hill may not perhaps have more to boast of; when he leaves our shores than his predecessor Cornwallace. I have reached the last page of my paper; and still feel an inclination to scribble on; you see how dangerous it is, to encourage an old woman to be troublesome; and you will hereafter no doubt, be more guarded in your attentions to such encroaching

creatures. Should this formidable Burroughite, for I suspect she comes from Norfolk, make the impression you anticipate; do not let what I have said, deter you from confiding your cares, and lover like fears and uneasinesses to me; be assured you shall always find me a faithful counsellor, and one who will participate in your joys or sorrows; and in the latter case, if I cannot remove, I will by the soothings of friendship; endeavour to alleviate them. Sally joins me in love, and best wishes to you all. You and both your sisters must write often for your letters are always welcome; and are received with heart-felt pleasure; but they will be doubly pleasing, in our present melancholy mood. Farewell my dear Solomon; may you never have as many real causes for sorrow, as

Yr. Affecti'te. Friend

E. B. KENNON.

P. S. Do pray whenever any thing extraordinary occurs; send us the papers if you can; for you get them sooner by several days than we do; and you know our anxieties.

[Addressed]

Mr. Solomon Mordecai,
Warrenton,
North Carolina.

Mailed to Petersburg; and from thence, to Warrenton.

Postmarked: Marshallsville, Va."
7 Sepr.

[Note: Erasmus Kennon was son-in-law of Maj. John Nelson of the Revolution, mentioned above, and son of Genl. Richard Kennon, who was a Captain in the Revolution. Tom Nelson was a Captain in the War of 1812. "My dear boy" mentioned above was Beverly Kennon, who was later Commodore Kennon. Sally, mentioned above was Sarah Skipwith Kennon, wife of Commodore Arthur Sinclair of the War of 1812, voted a sword by the Virginia Assembly for gallantry. E. B. Kennon was Elizabeth Beverly Munford, wife of Genl. Richard Kennon and daughter of Col. Robert Munford and his wife Anna Beverly, who lived at Richland, Mecklenburg county, Virginia, Maj. John Nelson lived at Oak Hill in Mecklenburg county.

George mentioned above was Dr. George Tarry Kennon, surgeon in the United States Navy in War of 1812, brother of Erasmus and Beverly.

Mr. E. S. Williams, of Baltimore, who kindly sends the letter printed above, states that it was in 1921, in the possession of his cousin, Judge Stafford E. Whittle, (formerly President of the Court of Appeals of Virginia), who consents to its publication. Judge Whittle was a grandson of Commodore Arthur Sinclair, U. S. N.]

LETTERS OF JAMES PATTON, 1742 AND GOVERNOR GOOCH, 1743

COMMUNICATED BY FAIRFAX HARRISON, BELVOIR, VA.

(Copy)

Augusta County Xber ye 18th -42

Hon^rd^ S^r^.

A Parcel of Indians appear'd in an hostile manner amongst us Killing and carrying off Horses &c. Capt. John Buchanan and Capt. John M^c^Dowel came up with them this day, and sent a Man with a Signal of Peace to them, which Man they kill'd on the Spot, and fir'd on our Men, wch was return'd with Bravery; in about 45 Minutes the Indians fled, leaving eight or ten of their Men dead, and eleven of ours are dead, among whom is Capt. M^c^Dowel, we have also sundry wounded. Last night I had an Account of ye Behavior of the Indians, and immediately traveld towards them wth a Party of Men, and came up within two or three hours after the Battle was over. I have summon'd all the Men in our County together in order to prevent their doing any further Damage, and to repel them force by force. We hear of many Indians on our Frontiers: the particulars of the Battle and Motions of the Enemy I have not time now to write. I am

Y^e^ Honor's

most obedient Servt

JAMES PATTON

P. S. There are some white men (whom we believe to be French) among the Indians. Our People are uneasy but full of Spirits, and hope ye Behavior will shew it for the future, they not being any way daunted at what has happen'd.

British Transcripts

P. R. O. C. O. 1325-5 with v: 35

Augusta County Xber 23^d^. 1742

Hon^rd^ S^r^.

Thirty six Indians appear'd in our County ye 5th Instant well equipp'd for War, Pretending a Visit to the Catabaus, they had a Letter dated the 10th of 9ber from James Silver near Harris's ferry in Pensilvania directed to one W^m^. Hogg a Justice o' Peace desiring him to give them a Pass to travel through Virginia to their Enemies, wch Letter they shew'd here, and it serv'd as a Pass where Silver's hand was well known. Instead of going directly along the Road they visited most of our Plantations, killing our Stock, and taking Provisions by force, the 14th Instant they got into Burden's Land about 30 miles from my house, the 15th Capt. M^c^Dowel by an Express inform'd me of their insolent Behavior as also of the uneasiness of the Neighbours, and

desired my Directions, on wch I wrote to him and Capt. John Buchanan that the Law of Nature and Nations obliged us to repel an Enemy force by force, but that they were to supply those Indians wth Provisions wch they shd be paid for at the Government Charge, at the same time to attend yr Motions until they got fairly out of the County. The 16th 17th and 18th Instant they killed sevral valuable Horses, besides carrying off many of their Luggage, wch so exasperated our Men that they upbraided our two Captains wth Cowardice, Nevertheless our Captains to prevent mischief sent two men wth a White Flag the 19th Instant, desiring Peace and Friendship, to wch they answer'd "O Friends are you there, have we found You", and on that fir'd on our Flag, kill'd Capt. McDowel and six more of our Men, on wch Capt. Buchanan gave the word of Command and bravely return'd ye Compliment, and stood his Ground wth a very few hands (for our Men were not all come up) in 45 Minutes the Indians fled, leaving 8 of yr Men dead on the spot, amongst whom were two of their Captains. Our Capt. pursued them wth only 8 Men several hundred yards, the Enemy getting into a Thicket, he return'd to the Field wch he cou'd not by any means prevail on his Men to keep, and stand by him. The Night before the Engagemt I heard of the Indian Behavior, and march'd up wth 23 Men, and met our Capt returning 14 Miles distance from where they had ingaged, to wch Place I went next Day and brought off our Dead being 8 in Number, Capt. Buchanan having taken off yr Wounded the Day before. I have order'd out Patrowlers on all our Frontiers well equipped, and drafted out a certain Number of Young Men out of each Company to be in readiness to reinforce any Party or Place that first needs help, have order'd the Captains to guard their own Precincts have appointed Places of Rendezvous where each Neighbourhood may draw to on Occasion, and have call'd in the straggling Families that lived at a Distance.

We have certain News of One Hundred and fifty Indians seen seventy Miles above me, and about the same Number lately crost Patowmack on their way up here.

A few Medicines for our Wounded wou'd be very acceptable. I am

Ye Honor's
most Obedient Servt
JAMES PATTON.

British Transcripts
P. R. O. C. O. 1325-5 with v:35

[May 10, 1743]

My Lord

Mr. Commissary Blair died the 18th of the last month, and Mr. Will Dawson M. A. brought up at Queens, in Oxford, where he lived nine Years, the same Gentleman I took the liberty formerly to mention to Your Lordship as a fitt Person to succeed him, being by the unanimous

Vote of the Visitors elected President of William and Mary College, as good a Testimonial of his Merit as Your Lordship could receive from Hence, I again take the liberty to recommend him to Your Lordship as duely Qualified to supply Your Lordships Absence in this distant Part of your Lordship Diocess.

As the Warrant for paying the Commissary's Sallery ends with Mr. Blair, it being Issued in his Name; and must be renewed in the Name of the Person Your Lordship shall be pleased to Appoint, unless it could be obtained with only the Addition; which I presume to say would be much better: I have Ordered our Agent, Mr. Leheup, to wait on Your Lordship with this Letter, and receive Your Lordship's instructions; that in case Your Lordship should him a proper Sollicitour, he may apply at the proper Office for that Warrant, and send it to me in, bearing Date the 25th April 17 [4]

As Mr. Commissary was Rector of the Parish in which I live, the Vestry made choice of their Curate, a very valueable man: and a young Gentleman that went for London in 9 ber last, designed for Orders, in whose favour I did my self the Honour to Address Your Lordship, dying, as I hear, of the Small Pox as soon as he landed, we have three Parishes Vacant.

The old Gentleman who departed in his Eighty eight Year, has had a Rupture above forty Years, a secret, till his last Illness, to every Body save one Acquaintance, for that Mortifying he was forced to confess it: And such was his strength of Constitution, he struggled with the Conquerer for tenn days, after the Docters had declared he could not live tenn Hours. He has left £500 and his Books to the College; and to each of his Nephews five Children £1000 and after paying some other small Legacies, as his Nephew is residuary Legatee, near £5000 will fall to his Share.

I am with great Duty and Respect
My Lord
Your Lordships
Most obedient and most
faithful humble Servant
May 10th 1743 WILLIAM GOOCH
Duplicate

Endorsed. Gov. Gooch
——Blair
——Dawson

(in a different hand) — For the Bps Successor
Plantation These Chiefly
From Virginia
G. G. (sic not clear)
1748

British Transcripts
Fulham MSS. Virginia, 1st Box No. 136.

Virginia 26th Feb. 1744/5

My Lords

By the death of colo. Diggs, who died the last Week there is another Vacancy in the Council to which I humbly beg leave to recommend the Deputy Auditor Mr John Blair.

As this Gentleman has for many Years examined the Accounts of His Majestys Revenues, I can't say I forgot to put him into my List, because, during his Uncle's the late Commissary's, life time, he was in narrow Circumstances; but as he left him, at his Death, near tenn thousands Pounds. I must own it was a great Oversight in me not to mention him in my last Return to Your Lordships, for he is by his Appointment and Situation, living in this Town, a proper Person to have a Seat at that Board. I am with great Respect, My Lords

Your Lordships most dutiful
and obedient humble Servant
WILLIAM GOOCH

Endorsed. *Virginia.* Letter from Colo. Gooch Lieut. Govr. of Virginia, to the Board, dated the 26th. of Febry. 1744 with an account of the Death of Colo. Diggs, Member of the Council there; recommending Mr. John Blair, the Deputy Auditor, to supply the Vacancy at that Board. Recd. April 22

1745 v: 68

Read D. 23

British Transcripts

P. R. O. C. O. 1326, p. 279.

WASHINGTON-LOVE

The October 1921 number of this magazine had the marriage bond of Thos. Washington and Janet Love, Brunswick County, Virginia. Their descendents live in Nashville and they are themselves buried in Murfreesboro, Tenn. Their son, Thos. Washington was a distinguished lawyer of the Tennessee Bar. One great-grandson who bears the name is Thos. Allebone Washington, of Nashville, whose father was Lawrence ———. There are other Washingtons here who are cousins, and they trace all of them to Richard Washington. Very little is known of the family of Janet Love. The name of her father is given in your magazine.

MRS. C. D. BERRY,
Nashville, Tenn.

THOMAS NEWTON
(1768-1847)

GENEALOGY

NEWTON OF NORFOLK.

(Continued from XXX, 88)

THOMAS[5] NEWTON like his father held for many years a prominent place in public life, like him also he was a vigilant guardian of the public welfare in Norfolk, and very many letters from him to various Governors are printed in the Calendar of Virginia State Papers.

He was a member of the House of Delegates from 1793 to 1798, of the State Senate from 1798 to 1805, also of the United States Congress 1801-1829 and 1831-33.

Children: (by first marriage)

26. Caroline,[6] married Edward Pannill of Baltimore, Md (by second marriage).
27. *Cincinnatus*[6] *W.* born 1806, died Nov. 15, 1886, married Martha Tucker, daughter of George and Courtney (Norton) Newton.
28. *Washington*,[6] married Cornelia, daughter of General Walker K. Armistead, U. S. A.
29. Thomas[6] d. s. p.
30. Lucius, d. s. p.
31. *John*,[6] married Anna Starr.
32. Virginius, d. s. p.
33. Augustus, d. s. p.
34. Lucius, d. s. p.
35. Thomas, went to California in 1848 and was never heard of afterwards.

22. GEORGE[5] NEWTON, of Norfolk, born July 2, 1786, died 1835; married Courtney Tucker, daughter of Daniel Norton, of Norfolk and afterwards of Winchester, Va.

Children:

37. Martha Tucker,[6] born Nov. 14, 1812, married Cincinnatus W. Newton.
38. Thomas,[6] M. D., of Norfolk, born Feb. 2, 1816, died March 13, 1863, of wounds received at the Battle of Cramptons Gap. He married in 1842, Margaret Porter, daughter of Alexander Darragh, U. S. N., and had issue one child.

35. Sarah, married Hugh Page of Norfolk.

39. *George,*[8] of Norfolk, born 1825, married Celestia, daughter of William Loyall of Norfolk.

39a. Courtney.

39b. Sarah Eliza, born 1832, died young.

27. CINCINNATUS W. NEWTON, of Norfolk, born Dec. 1806, died Nov. 15, 1886. He was a member of the House of Delegates in 1835, 1837, 1845, 1846, and Presidential Elector for Virginia in 1861. He married Martha Tucker, daughter of George and Courtney (Norton) Newton.

Children:

40. Georgia,[7] married J. Pembroke Jones.

41. Margaret,[7] married A. W. Stark.

42. Norton,[7] d. s. p., Dec. 25, 1887.

43. Florence,[7] married Dr. Harvey L. Byrd.

44. Virginius,[7] of Richmond, Va., born Oct. 27, 1844, Midshipman C. S. N., and member of the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1901-02. He married first Martha Heath, daughter of Isaac Davenport of Richmond, and secondly, Mary Barksdale.

45. Mary[7], died young.

46. Julian,[7] died young.

47. George,[7] married Bettie, daughter of John S. Taylor, U. S. N., of Norfolk. He died ———. Mrs. Newton married 2dly Philip A. Bruce.

48. Courtney Neville married Lieutenant S. F. Clarkson, U. S. N.

28. WASHINGTON[6] NEWTON, of Norfolk, U. S. Dragoon Corps, married Cornelia, daughter of General Walker K. Armistead, U. S. A.

Children:

49. Elizabeth,[7] (of San Francisco, Cal.), married Dr. P. M. Lusson.

50. Washington Armistead,[7] married and had issue.

51. Cornelia,[7] married Lt. Gore, U. S. A.

31. JOHN[6] NEWTON, graduated at West Point 1842, Captain of Engineers 1859, Major Engineers 1861, Brig. General U. S. Volunteers 1863, Major General U. S. Volunteers 1863, Brevet Major General U. S. A., 1863, Major General and Chief of Engineers U. S. A. He served with distinction in the U. S. Army throughout the Civil War, and obtained great note as Engineer. He married Anna Starr of New London, Conn.

Children:

52. Virginius[7]

53. Augustus[7]

54. John[7]

55. Victor[7]

56. Thomas[7]

57. Mary[7].

LETITIA CORBIN
Wife of Richard Lee

39. GEORGE[6] NEWTON, of Norfolk, born 1839, married Celestia, daughter of William Loyall, of Norfolk.

issue:

58. William[7], married Amanda Williams of Lynchburg.
59. E. Valentine[7].
60. Courtney[7]
61. Kate[7].
62. Celestia[7], married George L. Arps, of Norfolk.
63. Virginia[7], married Dr. Neil McCurdy.
64. May Augusta[7].
65. George[7].

(Concluded)

THE CORBIN FAMILY.

(Continued from XXX, 85)

10. John Corbin, of "Portobago", Essex County, born July 8, 1715, died August 8, 1757. He apparently held no office except that of justice of the peace. In 1742 he was named first in the commission in Essex. He married Lettice (born 1714, died June 15, 1768), daughter of Richard Lee, merchant of London, son of Richard and Lettice (Corbin) Lee of Virginia. John Corbin died intestate. On Jan. 17, 1758, Letitia Corbin qualified in Essex, as administratrix of the estate of John Corbin, deceased, with John Corbin and John Lee securities. The inventories of the personal estate of John Corbin in various counties were recorded in Essex and the total appraisement was £7010.10.7. On Jan. 19, 1745, at the division of the estate of Gawin Corbin, John Corbin had been allotted 31 slaves at Portobago, 84 in Spotsylvania Co., and 8 in Caroline County.

John and Lettice (Lee) Corbin had issue:

24. Gawin, of whom later
25. Martha, born November 14, 1738, died Jan. 8, 1792; married John Turberville, (born Sept. 14, 1737, died July 14, 1799), of Westmoreland County. The will of John Turberville of "Hickory Hill", Westmoreland County, was dated March 21, 1799, and proved Aug. 26, 1799. He desired to be buried by his wife Mrs. Martha Turberville, in the garden at Hickory

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The portrait of Letitia (Corbin) Lee on the opposite page should have appeared in connection with the account of the children of Henry Corbin, the emigrant; but no suitable photograph was then available. We are indebted to Mr. Cazenove G. Lee, Jr., for the one now used.

Hill. His second wife, Ann, declined to accept dower under his will.

26. Jane. This is the "Miss Jenny Corbin", who so often appears in Fithian's diary. He says she was "plump and buxom", but no longer in the first bloom of youth",—which probably meant, in those days, she was about twenty-five.

14. GAWIN CORBIN, of "Peckatone", Westmoreland County. He was a member of the House of Burgesses for Middlesex, at the sessions of May 1742, Sept. 1744, Feb. 1746, July 1746, and March 1747. (His father Gawin, who died in 1744, had been for a number of years a resident of King and Queen, and his nephew Gawin was not then of age). Later he removed to Westmoreland County and lived at "Peckatone". He died in 1760. His will, dated Oct. 29, 1759, and proved Jan. 29, 1760, is given from a somewhat mutilated record book in Westmoreland County.

"In the name of God, Amen. I, Gawin Corbin in the parish of Cople and County of Westmoreland, being weak of body but of sound sence and Memory, Blessed be God, do this twenty-ninth day of October . . . year of Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and . . . (fifty-nine?) . . . and publish this my last Will and Testament in manner following: First, I desire to be buried privately and without pomp. Item, I leave all my Estate both real and personal to my dear wife during her widowhood and continuance in this County, allowing my daughter Martha Corbin out of my Estate a Genteel Education and maintenance at the discretion of my Executors hereafter mentioned; but if my wife continues a widow until my daughter Martha Corbin marries or comes of age of one and twenty years, then it is my will and desire that she my said daughter shall have one half of my whole Estate, and if my wife marries again or leaves this County then and in that case, my will and desire is that my said wife shall be deprived of the bequest already made her and in lieu thereof shall one have one third of my Estate real and personal, and the remaining two thirds of my Estate shall immediately pass to by said Daughter Martha Corbin, and the heirs of her body lawfully begotten forever, and in default of such heirs, I give one half of my estate unto my brother Richard Corbin's two youngest sons and to their heirs forever. And the other half of my Estate to the youngest sons of my Dear sister Tucker, if it should happen that she has more than two sons, but if not then I would have this half of my estate descend to her youngest son and his heirs forever as the case may be.

Item, My will and desire is that at the death of my dear wife that my whole estate both real and personal then in her possession shall descend to my Daughter, Martha Corbin and the heirs of her body lawfully begotten forever, and for want of such heirs then to

descend to the younger sons of my brother Richard Corbin and . . . sister Tucker in manner as is before mentioned . . . . ry—ing again . . . this County, or my Daughter's dying without heirs of her body lawfully begotten.

Item, I give twenty pounds sterling to be sent for in Course goods for the Poor of the parish of Cople, such who have many children and use their utmost endeavors to support then by honest Labour and Industry, but still find themselves from their numerous family incapable; and this bequest I will have distributed at the discretion of my Executors.

Item. It is my Express desire that my daughter Martha Corbin do not marry until she arrives at the age of twenty-one years and then not without the Consent of the Guardians or the majority of them, which if she does I desire that my estate may immediately descend to the youngest sons of my Brother Richard Corbin and my sister Tucker, as I have before directed and my daughter Martha to have but one shilling of my Estate; this I desire that a prudent Choice may be made of a man of sense and Family—that she may live Happily in a matrimonial state.

Item. I desire all my just debts may be paid as soon as possible.

Item. My will and desire is that my Godson Thomas Lee, son of Richard Henry Lee, may be paid one hundred and fifty pounds sterling to be applied towards accomplishing his Education when he is sent home.

Item. My will is that if my Crops shall not be sufficient to pay my debts, then I would have my Caroline lands sold to pay them and it is my Express desire that Edy, Truelove and Cyrus, three of my negroes, be sent to the West Indies and sold, and the money arising from the sale of them to be applied to the payment of my . . . and this I will have done as soon as . . . opportunity . . . decease.

Item. I do hereby . . . and appoint my wife, Col. Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Ludwell Lee, Francis Lightfoot Lee and Richard Corbin, esquires, Executors of my will and Guardians of my Daughter, Martha Corbin.

Item. I give all my Brothers and Sisters, Nephews and Nieces a mourning ring apiece of a guinea value.

Item. It is my desire that my Brother Richard Henry Lee may be one of my acting Executors.

Item. It is my will and desire that my Estate may not be appraised, as it may be attended with useless and unnecessary expense, trouble and confusion."

On March 9, 1761, Mrs. Hannah Corbin and Richard Henry Lee, the Executors, petitioned the General Assembly stating that Gawin Corbin, deceased, of Westmoreland County, was seized of 500 acres

in Lancaster County, and several other tracts in Westmoreland, King George and Fauquier, on all of which were worked as many slaves as they would reasonably bear, and also of two undivided third parts in 3000 acres in Caroline, which he held in common with Gawin Corbin, infant son and heir of John Corbin, deceased. That after sale of the crops on his estates there still remained due from his estate £1210.9.2 to merchants in Great Britain and £696.19, current money; that it would take some time to divide the Caroline land, they therefore begged that the entail on the lands in Lancaster be docked and said lands sold, and the proceeds vested in slaves to be placed on the Caroline lands and that this would greatly expidite the payment of the debts. The petition was granted and an act passed (Hening VII, 458).

Gawin Corbin married Hannah, daughter of Thomas Lee, of "Stratford", Westmoreland County, and sister of Richard Henry and Francis Lightfoot Lee, signers of the Declaration of Independence. The will of Mrs. Hannah Corbin was dated 1781, and proved Oct. 20, 1781, in Richmond County.

Gawin and Hannah (Lee) Corbin had issue;

27. Martha, married June 1, 1769, George Tuberville of Westmoreland County. In accordance with the provisions of the will, the consent of the various executors was recorded in Westmoreland. The will of George Turberville, of "Peckatone", Westmoreland, was dated June 20, 1790, and proved Jan. 29, 1793. He stated that his wife Martha had a life interest in all the lands which came to her from her father, Gawin Corbin, except the lands in Caroline, Culpeper and Fauquier. He gave her one third of his other lands, stocks, furniture, etc.; his riding carriages, etc.

16. GAWIN CORBIN, of "Buckingham House", Middlesex County, was born 1740, and died July 19, 1779. He was sent to England for education. The matriculation register of Christ's College, Cambridge, contains the admission, Jan. 26th, 1756, at the age of 16, of Gawin Corbin eldest son of Richard Corbin, Esquire; born at Laneville, Va.; school Grinstead, Essex (England) under Mr. Harris, admitted to the College as a pensioner under Mr. Barker. Gawin Corbin returned to Virginia on August 6, 1761. He was a member of the House of Burgesses for Middlesex at the sessions of November 1766, March 1766, March 1768, May 1769, November 1769, May 1770 and July 1771. He was appointed to the Council 1775, the last man added to that body in the Colonial period. He married Nov. 17, 1762, his cousin Joanna, daughter of Robert Tucker, of Norfolk.

The following is a copy of his epitaph:

"'Till the trump of the Most High shall awaken him
To a glorious immortality
The sole reward
To such exemplary virtue
Here rests
The body of Col. Gawin Corbin
The eldest son of
Col. Richard Corbin and
The presumptive heir
Of the family.
He received a liberal education
in England And by his merits was promoted to the
Highest honors of his country
As a Councellor
He was impartial, learned, judicious.
As a man
He was generous, open, unaffected,
Whilst he lived
He was admired, loved, respected.
When he died
He was envied [?] honored, and lamented
His dissolution happened on July 19th
in the 39th year, seventh month
and fourth day of his age".

Gawin and Joanna (Tucker) Corbin had issue:

28. Betty Tayloe, born March 28, 1764, at 8 min. past 5 o'clock in the morning. Godfathers: Col. Robert Tucker and Capt. Constantine John Phipps. Godmothers: Mrs. Bettie Corbin and Mrs. Joanna Tucker. She married (license, Westmoreland County, Jan. 4, 1782), George Turberville, of Westmoreland County. In his will dated March 13, 1798, and proved April 1, 1798, he desired to be buried by his lately deceased wife, and bequeathed as she desired, certain slaves given her by her grandfather, Richard Corbin. He appoints his "brother" Richard Henry Corbin, executor.
29. Ann, born Dec. 17, 1767, at 40 min. past 1 o'clock in the morning. Godfathers Carter Braxton and Tayloe Corbin, Esqurs. Godmothers; Mrs. Bettie Corbin and Mrs. Eliza Corbin.
30. Felicia, born Feb. 6, 1770, at 25 min. past 8 o'clock in the morning, Godfathers: Richard Corbin, Esq. and Dr. Robert Spratt. Godmothers: Miss Alice Corbin and Jane Tucker. She married 1st. (license, Westmoreland, Dec. 19, 1791), Orrick Chilton, of "Curryomen", Westmoreland, and 2nd John Chilton.

31. Jane Lane, born Oct. 3rd, 1779, at 11 o'clock in the morning. Godfathers: John Tayloe Corbin and Thomas Corbin, Esquires. Godmothers: Mrs. Maria Corbin and Mrs. Courtney Tucker. She died young.
32. Richard Henry, born Aug. 4, 1775, at 4 o'clock in the morning. Godfathers: The Hon. Ralph Wormeley and John Page, of North End, Esquires. Godmothers: Mrs. Sarah Tayloe and Mrs. Alice Corbin. He was entered as a Pensioner in the University of Cambridge from St. Johns College, Oct. 9, 1794. He returned to Virginia. was elected to the House of Delegates from Middlesex for the session of 1798-9, but died before taking his seat. He is commonly said to have died unmarried; but was evidently the Richard Henry Corbin, who on Feb. 10, 1797, married Betty Tayloe Corbin. She was evidently his first cousin, a daughter of his uncle, John Tayloe Corbin. She married (2nd) May 3rd., 1803, Elliott Muse.
33. Jane, born Sept. 8, 1777, at night. Godfathers: George Bird and R. Corbin Tucker, Esquires. Godmothers: Mrs. Ann Tucker, Bettie Braxton, Jane Wormeley and Eliza Robinson. She died 1843. She married 1797, Thos. Chilton of Westmoreland afterwards of Kanawha Co. (b. May 10, 1767), son of Capt. Thos. Chilton, 3rd Va. Regiment, who was killed at the battle of Brandywine, Sept. 11, 1777.

17. JOHN TAYLOE CORBIN, of "Laneville", born about 1746, died ———. He was living in 1783. He was a member of the House of Burgesses for King and Queen at the sessions of May 1769, Nov. 1769, May 1770, July 1771, Feb. 1772, March 1773, and May 1774. Like his father J. T. Corbin he was a loyalist. On May 8, 1776, the President of the Virginia Convention laid before that body "A letter from Mr. John Tayloe Corbin to Mr. Charles Neilson, containing sentiments inimical to America, together with the proceedings of the committee for the County of King and Queen there upon". The papers were referred to a committee and John Tayloe Corbin sent for in custody. On the 9th a petition from John Tayloe Corbin was presented to the Convention, and read, setting forth, that so long ago as last October, a time when all America, as well in Congress as in her Colonial Conventions, was expressing her loyalty to the King, a time when no line of conduct was publickly marked out, he had occasion to write a letter to Charles Neilson, Esquire, of Urbanna, who was going to Norfolk, with a passport from the Committee of Middlesex, which original letter he begs leave to submit to this Convention, with his case, and declarations thereon; that at the moment of writing the said letter, nor at any time since, has he, even in idea violated or contravened the measures and ordinances of his country; but is

and always has been, determined to make them the rule of his conduct; that Major George Lyne, of the minute battallion, by the fulness of his power, issued his military orders for the seizing and apprehending him, by which he was forced from his wife and family, and detained in custody four days, till he had been examined by the committee of his County, and discharged by them as not being within their jurisdiction; that, conscious of never having acted inimical to his country, he determined to submit himself, and the said letter, to the Convention, and for that purpose set off from home and came to Williamsburg with his aged and much afflicted father, when he was no sooner arrived but he was again arrested by a military warrant and confined to the common guard-house; that he is determined, in future, to demean himself according to the Ordinances of this Convention, and sorry that any expression in the said letter should give offence, when none was intended; hopes that his case may be speedily inquired into and said relief granted him as shall seem just and right." He was confined to his room under guard and on May 11th the Convention ordered that he should be confined to that part of Caroline County between the Pamunkey and the Mattapony rivers, and should give bond in the sum of £10,000 not to depart from these boundaries until permitted by the Convention or the Committee of Safety.

After his release he lived quietly on his estates and took no part in public affairs. He married Feb. 26th., 1772, Mary (born July 14, 1752), daughter of Benjamin Waller, of Williamsburg, who was a member of the House of Burgesses and a judge of the General Court.

John Tayloe and Mary (Waller) Corbin had issue:

34. Richard, of whom later
35. John Tayloe, of whom later
36. Gawin, of whom later
37. Henry Eltonhead, of whom later
38. Elizabeth, married Charles Carter
39. Martha (or Mary) married ——— Muse.
40. Ann Frances Maria, married in Middlesex, March 6, 1804, Tayloe Braxton.
41. Henrietta.

20. FRANCIS CORBIN, of "Buckingham Lodge", Middlesex, and later of "The Reeds", Caroline, was born in 1759, and died at "The Reeds" June 18, 1821. He was sent to England at an early age, and educated at Canterbury School, and Cambridge, and on Jan. 23, 1777, he was admitted to the Inner Temple. He returned to Virginia at the close of the Revolution and soon entered public life. He was a member of the House of Delegates for Middlesex, 1784-5, 1785-6, 1786-7, 1787-8, 1788, 1789, 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, and was a member of the Virginia

Convention of 1788, which ratified the Constitution of the United States. He was a Federalist in politics and was for years one of the leading men in the Legislature. On Oct. 25th, 1787, in the House of Delegates, he offered a resolution calling a convention to consider the Constitution of the United States.

Grigsby, *Virginia Convention, of 1788,* I, 143, etc., describes Francis Corbin's first speech on behalf of the Constitution, on June 7, 1788: "On his return from England he soon entered the Assembly, where his fine person, his polished manners, his talents in debates, his knowledge of foreign affairs, aided by the prestige of an ancient name were observed and applauded". "The speech which he made sustains the reputation which he had acquired in the House of Delegates and fully evinces the zeal and success with which, amid the allurements of a fashionable residence abroad, he had cultivated the powers of his mind and the strict attention with which he had surveyed the political systems of the age". Grigsby then gives an abstract of the speech, and says, in continuation, that Corbin took an active part in the debates and was on the committee to draft a form of ratification.

Beveridge, *Life of John Marshall,* (I, 296) says that Corbin's first speech was one of the best in the whole debate.

At the next session of the General Assembly, on Oct. 20, 1788, Corbin was one of the parties in a once famous debate. The subject of amendments to the Constitution was under discussion and Patrick Henry had spoken several times of "bowing to the majesty of the people". Corbin retorted with an attack on Henry, ridiculing his speech and making repeatedly graceful bows as he referred to "The majesty of th people". He concluded by saying that "it was of little importance whether a country was ruled by a despot with a crown on his head or a demagogue with a red cloak and a caul-bare wig", (describing Henry). Only inexperience and party rage could have led Corbin to play into the hands of such a master of politics, speech and dramatic effect as Henry. The latter rose, with a perfectly bland countenance, and said he was a plain man, educated altogether in Virginia. His whole life had been spent among plain men, who never had the advantage of that polish a court could give, and while the gentleman was availing himself of the opportunities which a splendid fortune gave him in acquiring a foreign education, mingling with the great, attending levees and courts and basking in the smiles of regal favor at St. James', "I was engaged in the arduous toils of the Revolution and was as far from acquiring the polite accomplishments, which the gentlemen has so successfully cultivated, as he was from sharing in the toils and dangers in which his unpolished countrymen were engaged". And at intervals he made a most awkward and loutish bow. It was well known that Henry, while generally liking to pose as the 'plain man', had a polished manner when he chose. Every incident of Corbin's life had made him politically unpopular and Henry

was the darling of the Virginia democracy. Persons who were present stated that as Henry's speech went on, Corbin seemed to sink lower and lower into his chair. He had done a foolish thing and deserved the punishment he received.

Francis Corbin was rector of William & Mary College, 1790, etc. In the privately printed *Tayloe Memorials*, by B. O. Tayloe, the following appears: "The published obituary notices of Mr. Francis Corbin, of Virginia, from the papers of Mr. Madison and John Randolph, of Roanoke, have lately fallen into my hands together with an unpublished letter of that distinguished gentleman—the American Chesterfiield—a scholar, a philosopher, a financier, an orator and a statesman; but above all a kind, honorable, and good man, with whom I am proud to claim kindred. Somewhat in the way of "Old Mortality"—to rescue his memory from oblivion (he having died more than forty years ago, during the better days of the Republic)—I embrace in this commemoration, extracts from the obituaries and from Mr. Corbin's letter.

President Madison wrote of Mr. Corbin that "he was a member of the celebrated Convention of Virginia which ratified the Constitution, and whose deliberations furnish perhaps, the ablest exposition of Constitutional law anywhere to be found. He took an active part in support of the Constitution and shone among those luminaries, whose appearance in the political firmament constituted the brightest era of Virginia eloquence. He entered the arena repeatedly with such champions as Henry, Madison, Monroe, Lee, Pendleton, Randolph and others, "and exhibited no ordinary proof of ability." His eulogist, Mr. Randolph adds, "He lived until old party distinction had, in a great measure, subsided, only as an American, who was proud of his native State, and who gave it that preference, which at least in his who had seen and studied men and manners in other climes, cannot be considered a narrow and unenlightened prejudice. He was a decided enemy to the new fangled constitutional doctrines," and "he died with the conviction that the centripetal force of this confederacy was greater than its centrifugal." In a letter to Mr. Randolph in 1818, he thus expresses himself: "I see, with a great deal of concern, that men of certain description are resolved at all hazards and by all means to break down the state sovereignties, our only barrier against Federal tyranny, and to erect on their ruins a uniform system of consolidated despotism."

He had been on terms of intimacy with Pitt, Fox and other magnates of England, and in the years immediately succeeding the war of our Revolution, Mr. Pitt is said to have given testimonial of his regard for him, when Premier of England, by causing it to be intimated to the American Government that his appointment to the embassy to London would be highly agreeable to the Court of St. James. Though he enjoyed the personal friendship and esteem of Washington, his claim was postponed in favor of older men.

In a letter, dated April, 1818, to his friend Mr. Tench Coxe, of Philadelphia [portions of which have already been given here,] Mr. Corbin thus expresses himself: "As to family—this, under our present system, is a delicate topic to touch upon, and might betray a sort of vanity and aristocratic pride which policy, prudence, and philosophy would avoid. * * * Our family is of French extraction, and went from Normandy with William the Conqueror, was established in Worcestershire (*sic*) on a large estate * * * "till it was centered in William Liggon, one of Fox's peers * * *. I was intimate with him in England." Mr. Corbin then gives an account of relationship with Earl Ferrars and continues, "Between this nobleman's family, General Washington's and my own, there existed an interwoven connection before the two latter emigrated to this country * * *. If the subject was not too trifling to occupy our philosophic minds for a single moment, I could go on with heraldic proof to show you that one half or more of the British peers are *novi hommines* compared with ourselves." * * * In the year 1783, when I returned from England I brought dispatches or friendly letters for General Washington from Mr. President Laurens and others. I carried them to him at Princeton * * * I went into the room immediately * * * when after embracing me" [Washington asked about Col. Richard Corbin, as given above.] * * * "We then rode off to head-quarters. * * * Mrs. Washington knowing the sphere in which I had been moving in London asked me a great many questions about the *beau monde*, and amongst others "How I was received by the King?" [His reply referring to the kings inquiry in regard to his father has already been given."] In a note Mr. Corbin, says he was the first person who, by permission, visited Mr. Laurens in the Tower.

Francis Corbin married Dec. 3, 1795, Ann Munford, daughter of Robert Beverley, of "Blandfield", Essex County. Robert Beverley in his will (1790) gave his daughter Ann Bland Corbin, 28 slaves. She died at "The Reeds", Oct. 7, 1830, aged 52.

Frances and Ann (Beverley) Corbin had issue:

41. Robert Beverley, of whom later
42. Francis Porteus, of whom later
43. William Liggon, died unmarried
44. John Sawbridge, of whom later
45. Washington Shirley
46. Thomas Grosvenor, born 1820, died 1886, Commodore U. S. N. He died intestate and unmarried and left a large estate which went to his heirs-at-law.
47. Anna, married Franklin Randolph
48. Jane Virginia.

(To be continued)

THE
VIRGINIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

VOL. XXX. OCTOBER, 1922. No. 4

PROPOSAL FOR A VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1824

BY JOHN HOLT RICE.

"The publication of the Statutes at Large, by W. W. Hening, has I believe been noticed more than once in your Magazine. I have not been informed whether that important work has been completed. But I must express my most earnest wish that if this has not been the case, it may be carried through without delay. [Vol. XIII of Hening certified by the Council of State, Nov. 8, 1823].

It would be only a repetition of what has been said before, to state the value of that publication to the lawyer, the historian, and the literary gentleman. But I may be permitted to observe, that while reading the earlier volumes of the statutes, I have very frequently been led to inquire, why is there no *Antiquarian* or *Historical Society* in Virginia?

* * * The men who have guided public opinion among us, do not appear ever to have considered the tendency of every thing to deterioration. Hence there have been almost no associations for intellectual improvement.

* * * I wish to know why there may not be established a Historical and Antiquarian Society in the *Old Dominion?*

The character of our forefathers, and their exploits in leading the way in the mighty work of colonizing North America, are surely worthy of inquiry. The various events in this great undertaking, the hardships endured, the exploits of valour, the deeds of heroism and of kindness, performed by those who laid open to us this goodly heritage, are worthy to be snatched from the fading traditions of the country, where they are fast sinking into oblivion, and to be recorded, where they will remain descriptive memorials of the sort of men who settled in these regions; and will afford most important information to the classic historian (when will he appear?) who shall write that which all posterity shall love to read.

I have no doubt but that there lie, mouldering in old trunks, in closets and garrets, many letters and other manuscripts of men of former times, which a society, properly organized and well conducted, might bring out of obscurity and preserve from destruction. The result of the establishment of such institutions in other states, allows no room to apprehend a want of materials. All that is wanting to make most interesting collections, is skill and industry.

But my only object in this paper, is to throw out hints, which will set others to thinking, and feeling, on a subject of great interest, and of no small importance."

Literary and Evangelical Magazine, (Richmond). Vol. VII, January 1824, pp. 40-42.

[April 1893, a quarter century ago, appeared the first number of the Virginia Historical Magazine so active today in the work of consolidating important groups of the English speaking peoples.

It would be a long story, the tracing of the origins of the Virginia Historical Society before our Civil War, and the development of the Society since the war. Dr. Rice's suggestions, seen above, must at least be interesting at this late time, when Virginia, as in 1824, confronts problems not to be settled by antiquarian research, but perhaps less difficult on the whole if the past is understood.

The first Virginia Philosophical Society seems to have taken shape at Williamsburg a few years before the Revolution. It

remains to be proved whether any sort of connection can be established between that society and the Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society founded at Richmond in late December 1831. Evidence lacking, the Society we know may be attributed rather to the forward moving spirit of the time, conspicuous enough for a few years after 1815. Slowly turn the pages of Niles's Register for those years and observe how alive public opinion was to the possibilities and means of progress. John Holt Rice, an evangelical, was one of those in Virginia at that time most desirous to see the State go about its business rationally and wholesomely. He was not what is called a brilliant man, but a sober observer and worker. He was the founder of the Presbyterian Union Seminary, now removed to Richmond after a long career in Prince Edward County. Pastor of a church in Richmond for ten years after 1812, Dr. Rice established in 1818 the organ from which the extract given herewith is drawn. This periodical he continued to edit for five years after his removal to Prince Edward County to build up the seminary, or graduate school in theology, he set going.

In Prince Edward County Dr. Rice was thrown intimately with Jonathan P. Cushing, President of Hampden-Sidney College, a layman of the Episcopal Church, whose interests were predominantly for the exact sciences. These two men organized at Hampden-Sidney, in January 1824, a Literary and Philosophical Society, which had an existence of about ten years. Dr. Rice died the summer of 1831. In September of that year Mr. Cushing furthered the organization of an ambitious society for the study of common school methods in the State and the betterment of conditions in the common schools, (see Richmond Enquirer, Sept. 6th, 1833). Mr. Cushing was well known in the State as a man of ideas and accomplishments. In 1831 William and Mary made an effort to secure his services, as Washington College (Washington and Lee), had done earlier.

December 29th, 1831, the first effective move was made towards the establishment of the Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society. President Cushing was the 1st Vice-President of the Society at the organization, and continued so until his death in 1835. The aims of the Society from 1831 as late

as 1847, (at the reorganization when the title "Philosophical" was dropped), were perhaps more philosophical than historical. Joseph Martin in 1835 dedicated his invaluable Gazetteer to the Society as a body constitutionally interested in topography and internal improvements and in the utilization of the physical resources of the State. And Mr. Cushing at the conclusion of his address in 1833, before the first formal meeting of the Society, spoke of its purposes 'to advance the various sciences and the useful arts and to create and diffuse a taste for intellectual improvement among our citizens.'

More than one agent is necessary to the setting up of intellectual machinery. But other evidence lacking, the suggestion is offered that the impulse to the Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society came from Hening through Dr. Rice to Mr. Cushing. The late Mr. B. B. Minor in his *History of the Southern Literary Messenger* mentions Mr. Cushing twice as the 'real founder' of the Society. And the *Literary Messenger* itself made the statement (Vol. II, 165—biographical sketch of President Cushing) that Mr. Cushing "actively engaged in establishing and fostering the Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society."]

A. J. Morrison.

WESTERN EXPLORATIONS IN VIRGINIA BETWEEN LEDERER AND SPOTSWOOD

[A CHAPTER FROM "LANDMARKS OF OLD PRINCE WILLIAM"]

BY FAIRFAX HARRISON

In the last half of the seventeenth century it was the practice of English merchants engaged in the tobacco trade, as in the eighteenth century it was the practice of Scots merchants, to send out to Virginia their sons and other promising young kinsmen as their factors. Some returned to England and subsequently became principals of London and Bristol mercantile houses, but others remained in the colony and founded families. One of these agents of the pre-Commonwealth Virginia merchants was a certain Richard Jones. His record, so far as it has been exhumed, is scant enough. He seems to have been the son of an Exeter merchant named Cadwallader Jones, who described himself as a Somersetshire man(as was Fielding's "Tom Jones") though the name indicates an origin in Wales.[1]

[1] The available evidence is not complete. "Cadwallader Jones, of Greenham, in the parish of Ashbrittle, co. Somerset, esq.", makes his appearance as "sending an adventure to Smirna" in 1642. In 1645 he was resident at Exeter and served the office of "Customer" at Dartmouth. In 1648, having "stood for his King," he compounded for his estate on the Oxford articles, when it appeared that he had married an heiress of the ancient Devon family of Bluet of Holcombe Regis (*Cal. Com. Compounding*, p. 1818). He then became commercially involved, so that from 1652 to 1656 he was several times "outlawed," i. e., adjudged bankrupt (see *Chancery Proceedings*, 5: 27/67 and 41/66). Meanwhile, early in 1649, he had purchased from Richard Pugh the manor of Ley, in the parish of Beerferris, co. Devon (Devon, *Feet of Fines*, 23 Car. I). Lady Elliott-Drake, who now owns that manor, says: "The manor of Ley belonged to the Devon family of Ley in Elizabeth's time and was leased to the Mountjoys from 1601 to 1625 when Sir James Ley, earl of Marlborough, recovered and sold it in 1649 to a merchant named Pugh, who almost immediately sold it to an Alderman Jones of the City of London, sometime of Virginia. Jones dying deeply in debt, it passed to a creditor, Sir Robert Jeffreys, and from him to the Drakes." He was certainly never an Alderman of London, but if this first Cadwallader Jones was indeed ever in Virginia he may have been that one of the name who came in the *Marmaduke*, 1623, and in 1624 "aged 22" was a "servant" of Thomas Bransby at Archers Hope in James City (Hotten, p. 230).

That Richard Jones was in the colony in 1651 appears only from the fact that in that year he married the widow of a Virginia planter,[8] but before December, 1653, he was dead, leaving a son and heir who also was named Cadwallader Jones.

Richard Jones' widow now established herself on the plantation in the neck between upper Machotic and Chotank creeks, then in Westmoreland but soon to be included in Stafford, which she had patented in 1650, and there her son by her second marriage grew up.

But all this ties in with other Virginia evidence, for in the records of old Rappahannock County in 1681 (*Va. Mag.*, ii, 31) there is a deed by "Cadwallader Jones, son and heir of Richard Jones, late of London, merchant, deceased," to Sir Robert Jeffreys releasing all claims to the manor of Ley.

As he died a bankrupt, no will of this first Cadwallader Jones was proved, but it seems clear that he left at least one son for the will (P. C. C. *Fane*, 88) of another Cadwallader Jones was proved in 1692. This second Cadwallader therein described himself as "of Camely, co. Somerset, esq.", but makes mention of his interest in "the Barton of Greenham in the parish of Ash Brittle, co. Somerset." He refers also to his sons and to his wife, Elizabeth (the marriage license, 1677, is in Jewers *Bath and Wells Marriage Licenses*) but supplies no other clew for the present enquiry. It is a fair presumption, however, that the second Cadwallader was a kinsman of Cadwallader Jones of Virginia.

The Sir Robert Jeffreys (or Geffreys) above mentioned was a Cornishman, having been born "a poor boy of this parish" of Landrake (Lake, *Parochial History of Cornwall*, ii, 402). He became a leading East India merchant, was Alderman and Lord Mayor of London. His will (P. C. C. *Ash*, 63), interesting for its benefactions, was proved March 13, 1703/4.

[8] The genealogical evidence is as follows: Frances Baldwin, born at Glassthorne, co. Northants, married three husbands, viz.:

1st. *Richard Townsend*, who was in Virginia before 1628 and lived in Kiskyack (York County). He practised medicine and served as burgess and in the Council. In 1647 he mentions his wife, "Frances Townshend," in a power of attorney, but, on February 7, 1650/1, patenting lands she styles herself "Mrs. Frances Townshend, widow." The Dades of Stafford and Fairfax descend from this marriage (*Va. Mag.*, ix, 173; Hayden, p. 731; *Va. Land Register*, 2: 285).

2nd. *Richard Jones*, whose son, Cadwallader, described him in 1681 as "late of London, merchant, deceased." In December, 1653, there was a deed recorded in Westmoreland by "William Baldwin, gent., as attorney for his sister, Frances Jones, widow," conveying a portion of Frances Townshend'd patent of 1651 (*Va. Mag.*, ii, 31, and references as above). Moreover, the will of Robert Baldwyn of Great Staughton, co. Hunts, dated January 10, 1675/6 (P. C. C. *Reeve*, 138), leaves legacies to his "nephew, Baldwyn Townsend," and his "cousin, Cadwallader Jones."

3rd. *Robert Williams* who, on February 20, 1663/4, confirmed the 1653 deed of Frances Jones, widow, mentioned above, under a power from his wife, "Frances Williams," (*Va. Mag.*, ix, 174).

In November, 1673,[3] this Cadwallader Jones, who must then have been just twenty-one years of age, patented 1443 acres in the freshes of the Rappahannock, on the south side of the river below the falls, and here he posted himself during the anxious period of Indian depredations on the Virginia border immediately following the Susquehannock war. The Rappahannock settlements were peculiarly exposed and Cadwallader Jones seems to have come to the front as a dauntless fighting man. In June, 1680,[4] when the Council was considering the book of country claims sent up by the Burgesses, they found therein an item of a petition for relief by "Lt. Col. Cad. Jones," and annotated it as follows: "The Sufferings of the Petitioner are most apparent and his resoluteness to abide his plantation ag't all attempts and conspiracies of our Indian enemies for many years hath (as may well be supposed) maintained us in the seatment of the upper parts of Rappahannock for many miles." This evidence is persuasive that it was Cadwallader Jones who, in 1678, lead the party of Virginia rangers into the Rappahannock backwoods, "as far from the English plantations as Cahuaga is from Albany," and had that clash with a roving band of Senecas which resulted in acrimonious diplomatic exchanges, and the agreement by Virginia in 1684 to keep out of the piedmont highlands.[5] Jones' interests were not, however, confined to the Rappahannock. He apparently inherited from his mother a part of her Stafford plantation on Chotank creek.[6]

[3] *Va. Land Register*, 6: 492.

[4] *Legislative Journals of the Council*, i, 3.

[5] See Colden's discussion of the 1677 Maryland and Virginia treaty with the Long House in his *Five Nations*.

[6] The Stafford court minutes of 1690 contain the pleadings of a suit in ejectment by Francis Dade on behalf of his wife, Frances, the heir at law of Robert Townshend, dec'd, to recover possession of a part of the plantation in the neck between upper Machotic and Chotank creeks which had been patented in 1651 by Robert Townshend's mother, "Mrs. Frances Townshend, widow." It was alleged that Robert Townshend resided on a part of this plantation at the time of his death. It appeared also that another part of this plantation, known as "Rich Neck," was now occupied by a tenant of "Jeffrie Jeffries and John Jeffries the heirs and Exr's of John Jeffries, late of London, Esq., deceased." The claims of these creditors of Cadwallader Jones must have been based on the assignment he made to Alderman John Jeffreys in 1686, to which reference is made again later in this paper. It does not appear what was the event of the litigation.

In 1677 he patented, with David Jones,[7] 14,114 acres in the Stafford backwoods (later Fairfax) on the drains of Accotink and Pohick,[8] adjoining William Fitzhugh's "Ravensworth." These interests enabled the government to recognise his frontier service by commissioning him Lieutenant Colonel of Stafford under the first George Mason.[9]

When a somewhat ruffled dove of peace returned to Virginia after the deaths of Bacon and Berkeley, she found Jones in command of the fort on Rappahannock,[10] carrying on thence a trade with Occaneechie and the Tuscaroras of North Carolina. There survives an interesting letter he wrote to Lord Baltimore at this time. Under date of "Mt. Paradise, Virginia," February 2, 1681/2,[11] Jones asked Baltimore for permission for the bearer, Thomas Owsley,[12] to trade for him "at Nanticoke only,

[7] There is no other evidence for this David Jones. He may have been a younger brother of Cadwallader. In that relationship there is, however, a more interesting tradition in the family of Jones of Petersburg, that Cadwallader was a brother of that contemporary Peter Jones who married a daughter of Col. Abraham Wood of Fort Henry and whose son, another Peter, gave his name to Petersburg. If there was any evidence for this tradition it would forge a link between Cadwallader Jones and Wood, the able indian trader and promoter of western exploration, which would explain at once Jones' interest in the indian trade and in the country west of the Blue Ridge.

[8] *Va. Land Register,* 6: 663. When Cadwallader Jones left Virginia in 1687, he apparently conveyed his interest in this tract, as in his "Rich Neck," to Alderman John Jeffreys. At all events, in 1720 the Assembly (*Journals H. B.,* 1713-26, p. 288) recited that this land was then vested in "Edward Jeffreys, Esq." who was the son and heir of that Sir Jeffrie Jeffreys, who in turn was the heir of Alderman John Jeffreys. See notes 6 and 17.

[9] See the Virginia roster of 1680 in *Cal. State Papers,* Am. & W. I., 1677-89, p. 644, printed in full in *Va. Mag.,* i, 251.

[10] So Lord Baltimore testifies (*Cal. State Papers,* Am. & W. I., 1681-85, p. 211). The fort was that built by Lawrence Smith on the site of Fredericksburg under Berkeley's act of March, 1675/6 (Hening, ii, 326) which had been renovated under the act of April, 1679 (*ibid,* ii, 433).

[11] *Cal. State Papers,* Am. & W. I., 1681-85, p. 193.

[12] Thomas Owsley, from whom descend the Virginia and Kentucky Owsleys, was of the family seated *temp.* Elizabeth at Cheddington, co. Dorset. Being royalists, these Owsleys were ruined by the Civil wars and, during the Commonwealth, were compelled to sell their land. They then removed to the port of Lyme Regis where they engaged in commerce (Hutchens, *Dorset,* ii, 48, 88). The Virginia immigrant was in the colony in 1677 when the Westmoreland records show him collecting debts under a power of attorney from Walter Tucker of Lyme Regis, merchant, which described him as "Thomas Owsley of Lyme Regis." In 1692 he was seated on little Hunting Creek in what was later Fairfax,

for Roanoke and Peake,"[13] explaining, "I have an inland trade about four hundred miles from here S. S. W. This year the Indians will need Roanoke and I have a considerable trade with them. Through it I learned six weeks since of the motion of the Seneca indians about 300 miles S. S. W. from here. They took from an Indian town 35, and 4 or 5 from several small towns under the mountains near 500 miles [from hence]. They have so oppressed the Indians that they have made no corn this year. They are now in a full body returning home. By reckoning, they may be in your country on their return, when the turkeys gobble, by the information of those that were here."

During the ensuing summer of 1682, Jones ranged the great fork of the Rappahannock with John Taliaferro, of Snow Creek, son of the Robert "Talifer" from whose house on Rappahannock Lederer had set out ten years previously. It was then, as Taliaferro afterwards testified,[14] that they explored to "the first Heads or Springs of the Two Branches of Rappahannock," and perhaps it was then also that they anticipated the achievement of the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe and crossed the Blue Ridge to camp on the banks of the Shenandoah.[15]

In February, 1686/7, the sanguine temperament which had brought an earlier Cadwallader Jones to disaster had the same consequence in his grandson. Our Cadwallader Jones' Indian trading had over-stretched his credit. He was then living on

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trading with the Piscataway indians in Maryland. Later, he appears as Captain of Rangers on the Stafford frontier and as clerk and justice of that county. The name remains on the Northern Neck map in Ousley's creek, a tributary of Little River at the head of the Bull Run Mountains.

[13] Perhaps it was for such trade with the seashore indians for the commodities so much desired by his inland customers that, in 1684, Jones purchased a "bark" from John Griffin, of Gloucester (*Va. Mag.*, ii, 31).

[14] In September, 1706, in the first enquiry to determine which of the branches of the Rappahannock was the main stream (See his deposition in the minutes of the Virginia Council, October 26, 1706, C. O. 5: 1315). John Taliaferro, of Snow Creek, died in 1720. It was his son of the same name who testified for Col. Byrd in 1736 (*W. & M. Quar.*, xx, 269; *Westover MS.*, ed. Wynne, ii. 99).

[15] See the discussion of Jones' map, *post*. He probably followed in Lederer's footsteps. Taliaferro undoubtedly had the tradition of the Lederer exploration, if, indeed, he had not been one of Lederer's party.

his Stafford plantation "Rich Neck" and Nicholas Spencer sent to William Fitzhugh a debt to collect from him there. Fitzhugh reported, on February 18th,[16] "I offered to buy two or three negroes of him, he assured me they were already made over to the Alderman[17] and his Ship Merchants to whom he hath not yet paid one penny, and therefore that way there was nothing to be expected. And I have since heard that the night he went away from my house, he went into Maryland and so conclude he is clear gone." A month later this news is confirmed. "As I writ in my last," says Fitzhugh on March 14th, "my thought of Coll° Jones his departure I find since absolutely true, but whither I can't yet learn, but I imagine (by some Discourse he let fall at my house) it is for England to get himself into his Majestys Army." He adds that Jones' wife had meanwhile removed all his goods to Rappahannock.

Jones, himself, made his way to England and there was enabled, doubtless by the influence of the Jeffreys to whom he was most in debt, to enlist the interest of the proprietors of the Bahamas. On November 14, 1689, he was commissioned Governor of those islands. In this capacity he served for four years, when he was superseded by that Nicholas Trott who was later a large figure in Carolina. In this new *milieu* Jones' desperate effort to retrieve his shattered fortune got him into trouble again. In 1697 one Thomas Bulkely petitioned the

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[16] *Va. Mag.*, ii, 31, 121.

[17] This was John Jeffreys, Grocer and Alderman of London since 1661, to whom reference has already been made. He was undoubtedly a kinsman of Cadwallader Jones, though the mysteries of Welsh pedigrees at this time make it difficult to demonstrate the relationship (See the Jeffreys genealogy in T. Jones, *History of Brecknockshire*, ii, 121, with its vague record of intermarriages in the seventeenth century with the families of Jones, Awbry and Owsley). John Jeffreys' nephew Jeffrie Jeffreys had been in Virginia as factor for his uncle, and, having succeeded to John Jeffreys' business, was in 1691 agent for the Virginia colony in London (*Cal. State Papers*, Am. & W. I., 1689-92, p. 453). In 1701 he was himself an Alderman and Sheriff of London when he was knighted. Later he sat as M. P. for his native Brecon, until he died, leaving a large estate, in 1709 (See his will P. C. C. *Lane*, 247).

This Welsh family of Jeffreys, to which probably belonged Col. Herbert Jeffreys who was deputy governor of Virginia when Berkeley was recalled, were not akin to Sir Robert Jeffreys (or Geffreys), the Lord Mayor, whom we have already met. In his will the latter mentions Sir Jeffrie Jeffreys as "my friend."

Crown against Jones, rehearsing his "arbitrary and tyranical exercise of power" while Governor and particularly his intimate association with the pirates who notoriously then infested the islands. Although, on the advice of Edward Randolph, the Lords of Trade found against Jones, the proprietors stood by him nevertheless. They had found his accounts "imperfect," but they ratified Trott's action in continuing him in the Council and, when Bulkely's charges became hot, winked at his "escape from the colony." This "escape" seems to have been in the summer of 1698, when Jones once more took refuge in England.[18] A few months later he is again in Virginia, and from "York Town" indites the following paper to Governor Nicholson, with which was enclosed the map we reproduce:

An Essay
Lovissiania and Virginia Improved
by
Coll° Cadwallader Jones Esqr
Dedicated
To
His Excellency ffrancis
Nicholson Esqr His Maj^tie^
Leiv^t^ and Govern^r^ Gener^ll^
of Virginia—
Qui timeat Nunquam Honorem habebit
Dated
At York Town Jan^ry^ y° 17th
1698/9

"Right Honble S^r^—

"Some time Since at the Honble Esqr Wormeleys[19] I mett a book of father Lovis Hennepin a ffranciscan ffryer Dedicated to his Maj^ty^ of England King William the 3^d^, Dated 1698.[20]

[18] For Jones in the Bahamas, see *Cal. State Papers*, Am. & W. I., 1689-92, pp. 179, 559; 1693-96, pp. 3, 460; 1696-97, pp. 73, 349, 445, 666; 1699, pp. 221, 245.

[19] i. e., that seat of Cavalier hospitality, Rosegill, on the Middlesex bank of Rappahannock, which had been the residence of Sir Henry Chicheley and of Lord Howard of Effingham.

[20] Secretary Ralph Wormeley (1650-1703) had apparently just imported a copy of *A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America, extending*

"I was affected wth the fidelity of the ffryers Expressions[21] together wth his Rationall Demonstrations in his Draughts.[22] I imediately fell into a labour of the mind, that from the father Some greate advantage might accrew to this Country which to me nothing Could be more Satisfactory. I Suffered Sum time under this Chaos, Strainge notions Saluted me; tho I Could Solve my Apprehentions the Difficulty was to make them Comunicable.

"I Concluded, tho my Lines [were] drawn Never so Crooked, to Endure the Sensure, being well assured that time would Soon Improve them. And for as much as Demonstracon is Absolutely Necessary in Geography to begett a full and Satisfactory beleife, I recollected the best of my tho'ts of Some Yeares Experience, together wth hardships & Difficulties I have Endured, when Post'd in this Honble Country's Service.

"I here present Your Hon^r^ wth a Draught of mine, part of the father joynd, as I Can remember having Seen the father but one Day.

"fforasmuch as the wealth of the Subject is the health of the Prince, I humbly Conceive the advantages thereunto Accrewing doth hereby offer Viz^t^

"A Trade from hence Settled would answer wth those Indians. From our Cawcasean Mountains,[23] wch is now to me well Known, Cannot rationally be above one hundred miles into this Lovissiana Country, as appeares by my Draught; and

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above four thousand miles between New France and New Mexico . . . by Father Lewis Hennepin, London, 1698. This was the first edition of the English translation of Hennepin's *Nouvelle Découverte* (1697) and *Nouveau Voyage* (1698), which in turn were founded on his *Description de la Louisiane* (1683).

[21] The modern historian does not share this confidence in the friar. Since Sparks started a hue and cry, opinion of him has ranged from an estimate of his first book as "comparatively truthful," to a classification of his *Journal* with *Gulliver's Travels.* On all the evidence the worthy father seems to have been a cheerful liar.

[22] Hennepin published two maps of the Lake region and the Mississippi valley, in 1683 and 1697. The first is a negligible sketch but the second is important as a serious testimony of contemporary French geography. It may be conveniently studied in the reproduction in Winsor, *Narr. & Crit. Hist.,* iv, 251. Ralph Wormeley's book contained a re-engraving of the French map of 1697, with English names, and this was the one Jones had seen.

[23] The Blue Ridge. See the map.

that by way of a Company of Gentlemen adventurers it might be perfected to as much Honr and more proffit then that of the No West passage by Capt Zachary Gillum; the adventure was fifty pounds a Share, the Second Voyage it ris to four hundred pounds and So Continued for many Yeares.[24]

"I humbly Conceive Ten adventurers wth thirty pounds a Share would answer to Know the Certaintie whither our mountaines be passable: that dun, there is no doubt but the Trade wou'd be Secured.

"Then it Should be Lawfull for those first adventurers, wth themselves to make up the number ten [more] out of Each of the four great Rivers, Each Gentleman at their Entrance paying fifty pounds; after all on Equall Dividents.

"By this the first adventurrs would be well reimburs'd, tho in truth I believe the Discovery would be made at fifteene pounds a Sheare to ye 1st No of Adventrs

"I Observe by the father that at the westermost end, which from us is the head, of the Lake Illinoise on the South side of the Sd Lake are Settled two great nations Called Mississikinackes and the Octovats; between wch is a narrow Streight[25] and a Passage from the upper Lake, Through which Every Year passes 200 Conoes to Trade at Mount Reall, Quebecke, and [with the] Tsonnonthovans[26] that Manage the Trade which is Conveyed to ffourt Albainy and Pensylvania. These furrs So

[24] Capt. Zachary Gillam was a Boston shipmaster who had been employed in 1664 by the French fur traders, Radisson and Groseilles, to carry them to Hudson's Bay. This expedition was turned back by ice, but in 1668 the Frenchmen enlisted the interest of Sir George Carteret with the result that they sailed again, this time from England, in two King's ships as agents for a distinguished group of traders, including Prince Rupert, who thenceforth styled themselves "the Gentlemen Adventurers of England trading on Hudson's Bay," and were so chartered by Charles II in 1670. This was the "old Hudson Bay Company." On the voyage of 1668 Gillam commanded the *Nonsuch Ketch* which was the first English ship to reach the lower end of Hudson Bay. See that most entertaining book, based on the documents in Hudson Bay House, London, A. C. Laut, *The Conquest of the Great Northwest*.

[25] Jones refers to the Straits of Mackinac between Lakes Michigan and Huron. His recollection of the geography of the Hennepin map was confused in detail. The indian tribes he named as living on either side of the straits, are better known as Michilimackinac and Huron (See *Handbook Am. Indians*).

[26] i. e., the Senecas, or Long House. See *Handbook Am. Indians*, ii, 508.

rich Cannot be rationally Vallued less then one hundred pounds Each Conoo [and so] amounts to ye Sum of twenty Thousand pounds Ster^s^

"There is Computed in this Country of Lovissiania two hundred Nations which, by the Conveyance from Lake to lake down to Quebecke, do Yearely Trade through it neare three thousand Miles. I presume Our Desent would be on the Huron Indians which is on the Middle lake. It is presumed all S^e^therne W^e^^t^ern [trade] from thence would be Stopped by us, they having [to go] by the Various meanders of the Lake Erie and Ontario fifteen hundred miles to Quebecke, and Wee Could Afford matters as Easey as the ffrench.

"In three yeares Season after the Trade is securely Settled the Vallue of furs Yearely from hence return'd may be with much modesty Computed at one hundred Thousand pounds Ster^s^

"A fforeigne Prince Deprived of the S^d^ Sume, the Custome Considerable to our Crown, more of the manufacture of England Vent'd heere [are some of the advantages to be secured].

"In five yeares according to the Law now Establish'd as to ye Indian Trade[87] the Colledge would be Saluted wth near the Sum of two thousand pounds Sterl^s^ per year and all waies Increaseing.

Moreover a Signall and prodigious Advantage would appear to all this Country for to Settle this Trade by a Company to Secure and propigate their Interests, It is manifestly requisite that they must Erect two fforts at Least, one on this Side the Mountaine Cancawsus, the other on Lovissiania Side.

"The Very necessary Concourse of People would give the Country a Greate advantage as to the approach of any Indians Invaideing Us; for of the N^o^most Poynt of those hills that arise from the head of Pamunkey Branches[88] (they are about five Miles riseing up), a great part of Virg^a^ Inhabited is to bee

[87] The export tax on skins and furs was levied in 1691 (Hening, iii, 63) but the earliest surviving evidence of the dedication of the proceeds of this tax to William & Mary College is in the revisal of 1705 (*ibid.*, 356). From what Jones says, this must have been a re-enactment of an earlier law now lost.

[88] The Southwest Mountains in Albemarle.

Seen. Lightwood hors'd upon a pol and fir'd would bee well Seen at Esqr Corbyns Plantation two miles from ye Mounte Howse,[30] the like poll at Esqr Corbyn[30] would answer, and the Country have a Speedy and necessary Alarum.

"His Ma^ty would be further Obliged (Viz^t): In that Currious Vaile Called Scuvion the Land is Very Rich and thirty miles in Breadth and about Ninety miles North and So in Length, with four Single Mountains[31] About a Mile riseing ground are placed So Comedious and pleaseing as tho made by Art to View and Comand that Vaile. This Country now grown healthfull, Children now Increaseing and this Roade lying through it, It would Soone for many good reasons be Planted, there being a water Carriage and Carteage up.

"Thus as Concisely as in me have I Summ'd up my Thoughts as to my Countrys Service. If there be any persons Soe byass'd as to the Prejudice of this Countrys advantage I Count them not, But humbly referr my selfe to ye men of Hon^r that are the bold, the brave, and those that Daire.

"Under those Sentiments I abide, Yet I begg leave wth Confidence to affirme that the Matter well weighed & truly Digested These [further] proffitts would manifestly appeare:

> "to ye Glory of God, whereby His word by His Ministers may be Dispenc'd amongst Soe many greate and Puisant Nations; to Deliver those pore Soules from the darkness of Infidelity and ye Mist of Heresie (they have had Some glymiring Light of [that] from the Sea of Roome) this might be Said one of the first Exhaltations of the Church of England.

[30] The "Mount Howse," marked on Jones' map, and referred to in the legend, was Taliaferro's Mount in Essex. (See Beverley, 1722, p. 100). It was on the Rappahannock just below the site of Port Royal. The Corbin *plantation* referred to was apparently "Portobago" where John Corbin lived in the next generation.

[30] This was Gawin Corbin who lived lower down the Rappahannock at Buckingham House, in Middlesex. He had married the daughter of Ralph Wormeley of Rosegill.

[31] These doubtless were the Culpeper hills, now known as Mt. Pony, Cedar Mt., Thoroughfare Mt. and Lost Mt. More than a century and a half after Jones wrote, in an epic contest one of them (Cedar Mt.) was used for the defense of the country, as Jones here proposed.

"His Majtie Exchequr Obliged (besides his Satisfaction [in] the wellfaire of his Subjects, This Country Served in being Eas'd of an Incumbent Charge of Keeping of Some men all waies in armes for its Nacessary Defence, tho in peace). In truth I Could further Offer, as the probability of any minerall there might be Discovered, together wth precious Stones.

"But Least I Should Draw my lines beyond a mean I Subscribe my Selfe Your Excellencies,

In all Obedience,

Cadwallader Jones.

York Town Janry
the 16th 1698/9."

Nicholson does not seem to have been greatly impressed by Jones' effusion. Considering his own power of writing direct and forceful English, the Governor may have been repelled by the exuberance of the rhetoric, and he probably set the whole proposal down to the rhodomontade of a broken man seeking primarily a new opportunity for himself. Every executive knows out of his experience how prone selfishness is to colour volunteered advice, and how great is the risk of the discard of plans, proved by subsequent events to have been constructive, when they do not come from accredited counsellors. Certainly Jones' record did not invite confidence. Nicholson held the paper for several months until, in May, 1699, he received an urgent despatch from Lord Bellomont, Governor of New York,[28] rehearsing the dangers of the intrigues which the French were then fomenting among the Five Nations. Incidentally, Bellomont remarked: "You cannot do the Crown of England a more acceptable service than to open a trade with the Twichtwichte, Shatteras and Dowaganhas indians." As the tribes so named were those of the Ohio valley, this hint gave a sudden actuality to Jones' paper. On May 17, 1699, the Governor sent Bellomont's letter and Jones' "essay" and map to the

[28] *Cal. State Papers*, Am. & W. I., 1699, p. 319.

Assembly,[28] but there is no record of what, if anything, he said in doing so.

At this time the Virginia burgesses were all staunch Whigs. They reiterated vocal, and doubtless quite sincere, protestations of their support of William III and the "protestant interest," but when it came to voting money to aid the English government to carry out imperial plans in America, they discreetly looked the other way. It is not likely, then, that they would have taken any action on Jones' plan of western discoveries if it had involved a call on the public purse. They were ready, however, to agree to it to the extent of licensing individual adventurers to risk their own fortunes for the public good and incidental private gain. Even though they remembered the evils of the monopoly of indian trade in Berkeley's day and had recently reiterated the Baconian policy of free trade with the natives, they were now willing to make an exception in the larger interest and of opening up an entirely new field.

The Committee of Propositions and Grievances to which the subject was referred was then headed by a typical lowland tobacco planter and office holder, the second Philip Ludwell. It was not perhaps to be expected that such a man would be interested in Jones' suggestions, but that his imagination was captured, even if Nicholson's was not, may appear from the fact that a few years later Ludwell took a grant for 5,000 acres on the Rappahannock above the falls, in what is now Fauquier, and at this time at once brought in a report that after having "duely considered and maturely debated" Jones' proposals, his Committee recommended that the Governor be authorized to grant a monopoly of western indian trade, under proper restrictions, to such adventurers as would undertake to make discoveries beyond the mountains. To this the House promptly agreed and ordered the Committee to formulate a bill. It does not appear that anything more was done immediately. Probably no "adventurers" offered themselves for there was at the time no such leadership in the government in that respect as was soon to be supplied by Spottswood. The reliance apparently was on the

[28] *Journal H. B.*, 1695-1702, pp. 166, 169.

London merchants. Nicholson sent Jones' paper and map to the Lords of Trade, with his despatch of July 1, 1699,[84] inviting them to enlist the merchants' interest.

If there was no response from London the project was kept alive in Virginia. When the Revisal of 1705 was formulated, the agreement which the Assembly had reached in 1699 was enacted in a statute which provided:[85] "That if any person or persons shall hereafter at his or their own charge make discovery of any town or nation of Indians, situate or inhabiting to the westward of or between the Appalatian mountains, in such case it shall be lawful to and for the governor or commander in chief for the time being, by and with the advice and consent of her majesty's council of state, by charter to grant unto such person or persons so discovering as aforesaid, and to their executors, administrators and assigns for the space of fourteen years then next coming, the sole liberty and right of trading to and with all and every such town or towns, nation or nations of Indians so discovered as aforesaid."

And so, after some delay, Cadwallader Jones' paper was stamped with official approval. Virginia had a new vision of the West. If nothing was done immediately to realize it, the statute it produced was more than a *ridiculus mus*. It served as the basis of Spotswood's indian company, which was to have its headquarters at Christanna.

There is only one more record of the man himself. Six months after the date of his *Lovissiania and Virginia Improved* Jones took out a Northern Neck grant for 500 acres, beginning at "Colo. William Fitzhugh's western most corner tree upon or near the branches of Accotinck."[86] He had returned to the neighbourhood of his great patent of 1677. He was then not more than forty-six years of age, but probably he died soon after. The tradition of the family of Slaughter of Culpeper is the only evidence which makes for any assurance that Cad-

[84] *Cal. State Papers*, Am. & W. I., 1699, p. 309. The papers thenceforth slumbered in the Board of Trade archives until they were recently disinterred from C. O. 5: 1310, p. 261.

[85] Hening, iii, 408.

[86] The grant is dated July 5, 1699 (*N. N.*, 2: 302).

Lake Huron
Huron Indians
The Lake Erie 120 Leg. w. in
N.W. 90 mile into ye Lake Erie
Jamedriver Mountaines
The Lake Erie Falls called Niagara Cascade
perpendicular into the Ontario
Potomack mt. ained
Caucasus mountaines
The North of Potomack forke
Piscataway Indians now in the
Poto falls
Mary land

wallader Jones left progeny in Virginia.[87] In the family of Jones of Petersburg, there has, however, descended a sword of the seventeenth century, which was worn in the Confederate army, and of which the tradition is that it was the sword of Cadwallader Jones.[88]

The Map

We now turn to Jones' map and venture some notes upon it. The declared purpose of this sketch was to relate tidewater Virginia to the Great Lakes country laid down on Father Hennepin's map of 1697. As illuminating as Jones' drawing must have been in that respect at the time, its historical interest lies in the advance it marks over Lederer's map of 1671.

Beginning at the head of navigation, Jones sketched the upper courses of the six great rivers of Virginia (Potomac, Rappahannock, York, James, Appomatox and Roanoke) with their several branches, showing them all heading in the Blue Ridge except the James and the Potomac. No attempt was made to fill in the results of Batt's exploration of the James beyond the Blue Ridge, of which Jones was undoubtedly advised, but in the north, where he, himself, had explored, and where he wanted to draw attention, the Shenandoah and the Cacapon are both shown, indicated respectively as the "South" and "North" forks of Potomac. Neither the true North Fork (Cohongarooton) or South Branch (Wappocomo) is suggested. Probably Jones held the current Virginia opinion that the upper

[87] Robert Slaughter (1680-1726), of Essex, is reputed to have married, about 1701, "Frances Anne, daughter of Col. Cadwallader Jones of Stafford." The name, Cadwallader, reappears as a baptismal designation among the grandchildren of this Robert Slaughter (*Va. Mag.*, xxi, 309).

There was, however, a David Jones who had, in 1741, a land grant in St. Marks parish, then in Orange (*Va. Land Register*, 19: 972). Again, in 1824, two young Culpeper men, Cadwallader Jones and Richard Jeffries, migrated together to Alabama, where their progeny has since flourished. It is not impossible that they represented the tradition of the Jones and Jeffreys of the seventeenth century, whom we have discussed.

[88] *A Genealogical History*, Columbia, S. C., 1900. The early generations of this pedigree are in some confusion in the matter of names, but in principle it supplements, rather than contradicts, Dr. Tyler's pedigree of Jones of Petersburg (*W. & M. Quar.*, xix, 287. For the sword, see also *ibid.*, vii, 60).

branches of Potomac locked with the Susquehannah, but in any event the failure to introduce these streams shows the limits of his actual knowledge. After indicating, as foot hills, the "Ococquon Mts." at the head of Occaquan, and, without giving them a name, the Southwest Mountains at the head of Pamunkey, the map proceeds to show that back of the Virginia piedmont and separating it from the drainage area of the Great Lakes were three parallel and continuous mountain ranges. The Blue Ridge is called by different names in different localities, "Cawcasus," "Taweasus," and "Occonachie." At a distance of 20 miles to the west, the second range is marked "Potomack Mountains" in the north and "James River Mountains" in the south. Still further west, at a distance of 40 miles, are ranked the "great last mountains," labeled "Appalatinian Mountains, but indeed they were but Potomocke-James River Mountains." Finally, the nearest lake shore, that of Lake Erie, is stated to be 90 miles northwest of the ultimate mountain barrier.

Having shown the general topography, the map next proceeds to support the argument of the accompanying "Essay" that there was a practicable trade route from the falls of Rappahannock to the Lakes, through the three great mountain ranges. With all the emphasis of what a modern newspaper calls a "box," this route is prescribed by the following, not altogether lucid, inscription:

"They [the Appelatinian Mountains] are laid off so far, for the better apprehension of distance through, vizt. from Cape Henry to ye Mt. Howse, 180 miles, W. N. W. to Caucasus 90. Pass So. 10. Through 20. Potomack Mts. 40. Through So. 20. W. N. W. 40. Lake Huron, W."

This northwest route was traced on the map with certainty only through the Great Fork of the Rappahannock (the "Vale of Scuvion" of the essay) and thence across a bent indicated in the Blue Ridge between the springs of the north and south forks of the Rappahannock, which we take to have been Chester Gap. Jones had apparently himself explored that far. He recorded his ranging activities in the years from 1677 to 1686 by a series of seventeen cross marks, indicating "where ye Author Camp'd." These camp sites extend south in a great

curve from the Falls of the Rappahannock, through the piedmont and across the rivers, back of the inhabitants, to the falls of Appomattox. But the most interesting of such testimonies is the eighteenth and final cross mark which is placed *on the Shenandoah* below that Blue Ridge gap, which he was recommending.

The more one studies this map, the more one is persuaded that if Spotswood did not have a copy of it in his possession in 1716,[39] he had the tradition of it and that when he crossed the Blue Ridge he was following in Jones' footsteps, and seeking that worthy's road to the Lakes.

Incidentally, Jones' map carries several other suggestive testimonies: Two are of merely local concern. "Brent Town," which Jones had known in his ranging days as a northern outpost overlooking the Iroquois trail to the South, which then lead above the falls of the Virginia rivers, is shown below the "Ocoquon Mts." On the Shenandoah, some miles below the place where Jones had camped, an indian village is indicated with the erroneous statement, "Piscataway Indians now in the forks of the Potomack. To ye Indyans 60 mile."[40]

The other legends were of more general interest. To the north, under Lake Erie, is recorded, "the Lake Erie Falls, call'd Niagara,[41] 600 foot perpendicular into the Ontario baye. On ye E. side are seated Tsonnontouans Indians. By ye W.

[39] Spotswood was a curious collector of maps. In his despatch of February 1, 1719-20 (*Spotswood Letters*, ii, 332) he says: "I have many Mapps and Draughts drawn from my Observations in my travels through the inhabited parts of this Colony. I have others from the Information of the most credible and Intelligent persons I have met with here: some from the Acco'ts of our Traders and others from the Relations of the Indians." By his will (*Ibid.* p. xv) he bequeathed his "books, maps and mathematical instruments" to William and Mary College.

[40] This was a Shawnee village. The migration of the Piscataways from lower Maryland had taken place while Jones was absent from Virginia, so that he knew nothing about it at first hand; but Governor Nicholson well knew that at the beginning of 1699 they were still seated in the highlands of what became upper Fauquier and were about to remove to Conoy Island in the Potomac below Point of Rocks. Jones shows that island on his map and marks an unexplained sign on the site of Leesburg. As he did not extend the Blue Ridge to the Potomac, it is improbable that Jones had ever been in what is now Loudoun.

[41] In his *Nouvelle Découverte* (1697) Hennepin had published the earliest picture, if not the first description, of Niagara falls. The old print is reproduced in Winsor, *Narr. & Crit. Hist.*, iv, 248.

Side ye Iroquoise Indians wch. warr neare 2,000 miles So." At the foot of "Lake Illoinoise" (Michigan) between the "Miamis Indians" on the east and the "Illoinoise Indians" on the west is marked on the future site of Chicago the words, "French Fort deserted." To the south beyond the "Appelatinian Mountains" is shown a region called Pallatia with two rivers draining to the south, and between them "Cherico Indians, 30 Towns, run to 30 degrees. So. Carolina men trade with these Chericos." The northern of the two rivers has the legend: "Hohio River runs into ye river Meschasipie, wch. empties itselfe in 29 degr. into Pallatia bay, wch. by mistake is called Mexico B. by ye father. It [the Mississippi] runs 800 Leagues from the head of [Pallatia Bay], wch. he proposes a way to Japan and China." The Southern river, intended to represent the upper reaches of the modern Chattahoochie, is indicated only as "Ugo river 35^{d}."

VIRGINIA QUIT RENT ROLLS, 1704

(Continued)

Elizabeth City County

A True & Perfect Rent Roll of the Lands in Elizabeth City County for the year 1704:

Coll. Wm. Wilson	1024
Mr. Wm. Smelt	150
Mr. Pasquo Curle	300
Mr. Nicholas Curle	950
Coll. Dudley Diggs	216
Sam[ll] Pearce	100
Mary Jenings	250
Mark Powell	184
Wm. Davis	42
Jno. Skinner	50
Tho. Baines	50
Wm. Latham	90
Tho. Tucker	60
Matthew Smell	100
Charles Cooley	200
Jno. Chandler	150
Wm. Umplese	25
Charles Tucker	240
Tho. Allin	227
Wm. Williams p ye Schoo[l]	600
Wm. Williams p himself	260
Mrs. Bridgett Jenkins	100
Christ[r] Davis	25
Wm. Spicer	60
Tho. Hawkins	270
Jno. Bowles	360
Jno. Theodam	100

Barth^{o} Wethersby	300
Jos. White	200
Capt. Henry Royall	750
Robt. Bright Senr.	100
Tho. Naylor	100
Geo. Cooper Senr.	100
Tho. Needham	100
Chas. Cooper	100
Wm. Dunn	100
Charles Jenings	225
Sam^{ll} Davill	100
Paltey Davill	100
Francis Rogers	200
Tho. Babb p Selden	300
Richard Horsley	90
Sarah Nagleer	230
Henry Dunn	50
Peter Pearce	50
Moses Davis	150
Mich:Breltnen	100
Henry Robinson	200
Christ^{o} Copeland	340
Tho. Faulkner	50
Mr. James Wallace	1300
Mr. Bertram Servant	418
Robt. Taylor	50
Joseph Harris	50
Wm. Robinson	50
Wm. Boswell	220
Wm. Winter	70
John Lowry p Selden	110
Edwd Roe	100
Henry James	100
Richard Roatton	50
Tho. Poole	1200
John Wheat Land	66
Geo. Bell	80
Widd^{o} Ballis	350

Geo. Walker	325
Mr. Robt. Beverley	777
Jno. House	157
Jno. Bushnell Junr.	150
Roger Masnibred	50
John Shepherd	210
Wm. Winsor	150
Edwd Lattimore	190
James Baker	225
Tho. Tucker	60
Jno. Cotten	50
Mark Johnson	400
Maj^{r} Wm. Armistead	460
Coll. Anth^{o} Armistead	2140
Daniell Preeday	50
Matthew Watts	454
Bryan Penny	50
Giles Dupra	150
Jno. Bayley	415
Mary Simmons	200
Jno. Parish	50
Anth^{o} Griggs	50
Abr. Parish	100
Mark Parish	200
Benj^{a} Smith	650
Tho. Nobling p Archer	212
Wm. Mallory	200
Widd^{o} Croashell	100
Charles Powers	400
Robt. Charwill p Jno. Young	440
Sam^{ll} Fingall	333
Francis Savoy	50
Mr. Edwd Mihills	600
Jane Nichols	50
John Francis	25
James Priest	50
Simon Hollier	200
Mr. Tho. Gebb	630
Mr. Rven^{d} Booker [pro Rev. Jas. Bowker]	526

Mr. Wm. Lowry	526
Mr. Meory or Mrs. Dunn	500
Wm. Haslyitt	100
Capt. Augustine More	285
John More	250
John Passones [Parsons?]	780
Rebecka Morgan	50
Tho. Roberts	250
Mr. John Turner	50
Henry Lais	50
Capt. Henry Jenkins	300
Mr. Francis Ballard p Selden	460
Totall	29560

Henry Royall Sherriff

Warwick County

A True and Perfect Rent Roll of all the Lands that is held in Warwick County 1704:

Majr Will. Cary	300
Mr. Nedler plantacon	80
Robt. Hubbert	101
Wm. Harwood	625
Richd Glanvills Orphans	165
Wm. Hubbert	200
Henry Gibbs	315
Wm. Hewitt	150
James Hill	135
John Golden	50
Tho. Harwood	575
Jno. Harwood	705
Capt. Tho. Charles	100
Hump Harwood	400
Matthew Wood	300
Edwd Joyner	60
Coll. Dudley Diggs	4626
Elizb Lucas	800

John Hillard	74
Edwd Loftes	60
Wm. Rowles Orphans	150
Sam^{ll} Hatton	225
Isaac Goodwin	225
Geo. Robinson	70
Seymor Powell	250
John Dawson	300
Wades Orphans	100
Henry Dawson	200
John Bowyer	100
Joseph Cooper	200
Robt. Robt^{o}	60
Geo. Burton	330
Capt. Mills Wells	425
Roger Daniell Orphans	196
Jno. Hansell	100
Emanuell Wells	325
Eliz^{b} Wells Widd^{o}	155
Widd^{o} Lewelling	100
Wm. Wells	615
Elias Wells	50
Widd^{o} Pierce	155
Tho. Haynes	850
John Scarsbrook	850
Francis Jones	150
Matthew Jones	750
Jno. Read	875
Mr. Brewer Land	1350
Mr. Henry Cary	670
Langhorne Orphans	602
Coll. Coles Orphans	1350
Peter Jones	150
Sam^{ll} Crew Orphans	150
Sam^{ll} Symons	173
Mrs. Eliz^{b} Whitaker	600
Capt. Miles Cary	600
John Cannon	75
John Linton	75

Richd Gough	60
Coll. Miles Cary	1960
Mr. John Mallnote	61
Rowland Wmo	170
Robt. Chapell	150
James Chapell	100
Edward Powers	200
James White	40
Peter Sawers Orphans	95
Wm. Cotton	143
James Cotton	70
John Croley	100
Stephen Burgess	128
Widdo Yorgen	60
Geo. Jackson	193
Sarah Ranshaw	125
Richd Wootton	243
Samll Hoggard	120
James Floyd	100
Fr: Rice Orphans	200
Mr. Nath Hoggard	270
Widdo Chapell	321
Tho Ascow	50
Garrett Ridley	300
Samll Ranshaw	238
Charles Strukey	86
Jos. Naylor	100
Jos. Russell	150
Charles Allen	295
Mr. Newberry	100
John Turner	100
Wm. Smith	150
Elizb Holt	150
James Browne	150
Henry Royall	246
Edwd River	375
Tho. Blackistone	75
Mark Noble	215

James Reynolds		75
John Holmes		200
Sam[ll] Duberry		200
Edw[d] Powers		200
Jn[o] Hatton Orphans		93
Wm. Towland		25
Tho Merey		3655
Wm. Bracey		150
Cope Doyley		500
Nath Edw[ds]		100
Sam[ll] Groves		490
Croucher Orphans		50
Henry Whitaker		60
Woodman Land		200
Wm. Cook		29
Jno. Tignall		392
Tho. Mountfort		890
Joseph Montfort		558
James Priest		50
Abr: Cowley		80
Wm. Jones		70
Edward Davis		200
The County Land		150
Denbigh Psh Gleab		130
Mulberry Island Gleab		50
Tho Hansford		75
Mr. Roscoes Orphans		1195
		37685
Tho: Hansford never before pd.		75
		37610
Persons out of the County		
Jn[o] Trevillian	248)	
Holman Orphans	200)	448

Robert Hubberd Sherriff

(To be continued)

MINUTES OF THE COUNCIL AND GENERAL COURT, 1622-1629

(From the Originals in the Library of Congress.)

(Continued.)

A Court at James Citty the 22th daie of January 1628. p^r^sent.

Capt: ffrancis West. Esqr. Governo^r^
Docto^r^ Pott:
Capt: Smyth:
M^r^ ffarrar.

It is ordered uppon the peticon of Dave Mynton against Bridges ffreeman, for beating and wounding him, that the said Bridges shall paye for curing the said Dave his wounds and for that it appeared that Dave Mynton gave very bad words to the said ffreeman and was in the most faulte the said Dave shall have noe remedy.

Uppon the peticon of John Southerne gent concerning the delyvery of a man servant by Nathaniell Jeffers unto the said Mr Southerne to serve him fower yeares, and for that it appeared uppon a bill shewed to the Co^rt^ that the said Mr Southerne was to have the said servante delyvered unto him at the feast day of St Thomas the Apostle [in] 1626 wch was not delyvered accordingly And for as much as the said Nathaniell Jeffers [has] dyvers servants heere in this Country And [the] said Mr Southerne is Content in satisfacon [of] the said bill to accepte of one of the said ser[vants] The Co^rt^ hath ordered that James Budworth one of the said servaunts having fower yeares to searve shall dwell wth the said Mr Southerne for two yeares and then bee freed M^r^ being content to accepte the same and p^r^forme it accordingly.

Uppon the mocon of Mr Doctor Pott the Councell hath

thought fitt and accordingly ordered that hee shall have 200 acres of land betweene Kethes Creeke and another Creeke adjoyning.

At this Court Zachary Cripps brought [in an] inventory of Edmond White deceased and delived [delivered] the same uppon oath to bee a true and p^r^fecte Inventary And for that it appeared to the Co^rt^ that the said Zachary had fully adm'stred the estate of the said Edmond The Co^rt^ hath ordered that hee shall have his bond thereuppon delyvered to bee Cancelled and shall bee quite thereof.

A Court at James Citty the 23th of January A^o^ Dmi 1628. present

Ca: ffrancis West Esqr Governo^r^ &c.
Doctor: Pott
Capt: Smyth.
M^r^ ffarrar.

See Record fo. 142 144

At this Co^rt^ was reade a Letter of Attorney made from John Jeffers executo^r^ of the will & testam^t^ of Nathaniell Jeffers deceased unto John Cheeseman and Rowland Powell Marchants wch Letter of Attorney was Confirmed by a letter sent from the said John Jeffers unto the servants of Nathaniell Jeffers And here likewise shewed and reade, And for that it appeared by a note under the hand of Mrs Bridgett Lowther that shee is willing to leave upp the said servants and to bee accomptable unto Mr Powell for their service If the Co^rt^ shall soe order the same, The Co^rt^ taking the same into consideracon, have Confirmed the said Letter of Attorney unto to said Mr Powell, and have ordered that by vertue of the same Mr Powell shall have full power and authority to receave and dispose of the said servants, and to call Mrs Lowther to accompte for their service that is past, soe as the said Mr Powell doe put in security to save the Co^rt^ harmeless [and] to be accomptable for the said estate of the said

Nathaniell Jeffers If hereafter it shall appeare that there is a better or later authority (to the Co^{rt}) then is conferrd uppon the said Mr Powell [by the said] Letter of Attorney.

Edward Mayhew Marchant sworne and exa'ied sayth that hee receave[d] a bill of wrights from Robte Marshall, but it was uppon noe other termes but that his brother Mr Thomas Mayhew should doe his endeavo^{r} to receave the same of the said wrights and if hee should receave it hee would bee accountable to Marshall therefore.

Uppon a Complaint of Mr Thomas Mayhewe ag^{t} Robt Marshall concerning the breaking upp and paying away of a hhde of tobaccoe wch Mr Edward Mayhewe packed upp and sealed for the acc^{o} of the said Thomas Mayhew It is ordered that the sd Marshall shall bee imprison[ed] till hee make satisfaccon.

A Court at James Citty the 24th [daie of] January A^{o} 1628. p^{r}sent

Cap: ffrancis West Esqr Governo^{r}
Doctor: Pott.
Capt: Smyth
M^{r} ffarrar.

At this Co^{rt} for as much as Obedience Robins was arrested at the suit of Georg Medcalfe and hath appeared according to warrant and the said George Medcalfe neyther by himselfe or his Attorney came in to comence his suit against him the Co^{rt} hath therefore ordered that the said George Medcalfe shall bee nonsuited and paie unto the said Obedience fifty pounds of tobaccoe for his damage.

It is ordered that Leift Waters shall delyver out of the estate of Capt: Wilcocks sixteene hundred pounds of tobaccoe unto Mr Edward Meyhew or his assignes for the use of Mr Nicholas Clements in parte of a debt due unto the said Mr Clem^{ts} from the said Capt Wilcocks.

Examinacons taken before Mr Doctor Pott January the vith *1628.*

John Gay aged about 22 yeares servant to Benjamin Jack-

son sworne and exa'ied sayth that on Newyeares day last about two or three of the Clock in the afternoon this exa'iate being mending of a pinte potte that was melted William Reade and John Burrowes came forth of this Exa'iats masters howse and sat down by him, and John Burrowes took upp a little peece of leade that lay by this exa'iate and begun to make it fitt for this exa'iats worke that he was about and uppon a sudden William Reade said unto John Burrowes oh. yo^{u} theefe Whereuppon Burrowes letting fall his knife uppon the ground said have I stole any thing from thee and wth all strooke Reade uppon the brest wth his fist then p^{r}sently Reade stooping downe tooke upp the knife and therewth stabbed Burrowes into the belly below the Navell, and about an hower after this, Burrowes dyed.

William Reade aged as hee saith about 13 or 14 yeares being examined sayth that on New yeares daie last about 2 or three of the Clocke in the afternoone he the exa'ite and John Burrowes sitting together by John Gay as hee was mending a pint pott asked this ex'^{te} to lend him his knife, and this exa'ite said hee would not lende it him, then John Gay tooke this exa'iats knife from him by force and p^{r}sently John Burrowes said to this ex^{te} yo^{u} arrant Rogue woo't not lend thy knife to him whereuppon this ex^{t} said to Burrowes what yo^{u} theefe, then Burrowes threw down his knife betwixt his leggs, and strooke this ex^{t} uppon the brest wth his first, then this exa'iate tooke upp the knife and holding it in his hand Burrowes came in uppon this exa'iat and ran his belly [upon] the knife.

Hereuppon the said Reade was indited by the [name of] William Reade late of Blunt poynt wthin the Kingdome of Virginia labourer for that [on the] first daie of January in the fourth [yeare of the] raigne of our soveraigne Lord [by the] grace of god of England Scotland [ffrance] & Ireland King Defendo^{r} of the faith &c [betweene] the howers of 2 and 3 in the afternoone of the same day by force and armes, that is to say wth a Certaine Knife price two pence uppon one John Burrowes at the house of one Benjamin Jackson of Blunt poynt aforesaid in the peace of our soveraigne Lord the King beeing made an assault and [an] affray, and the said John Burrowes

then and there wth said knife felloniously did thrust & stabb into the belly giveing him the said John Burrowes a mortall wound of wch said wound the said John Burrowes w^th^in an hower after dyed And soe the [said] William Reade the said John Burrowes in manner and forme aforesaid felloniously did kill against the peace of our soveraigne Lord the King his Crowne and dignity.

Uppon wch Indictm^t^ the said Reade pleaded not guilty and for his triall put himselfe uppon the Country vizt.

Richard Kingsmill	William Harwood	John Osborne
John Southerne	Thomas Pasmore	Thomas Crump
Thomas Mayhew	Elmer Phillipps	John Jackson
Ingram ffurres	George Graner	John Bridges
Richard Taylor	John Johnson	

W^ch^ Jury being impanelled and sworne to inquire of the said Indictm^t^ delyvered upp there verdict, that the said Reade was guilty of Manslaughter whoe being asked what hee had to say for himselfe that he ought not to dy demanded his Clergy whereuppon hee was delyvered to the ordinary, &c.

A Co^rt^ at James Citty the 30th January 1628. p^r^sent

Ca: ffrancis West Esqr Gourerno^r^ &c.
Doctor Pott.
Capt: Smyth,
Capt: Mathewes.
Mr. Secretary.
Mr. ffarrar.

At this Co^rt^ were delyvered upp by Mr Southerne twelve bills (wch were Com'itted unto him by William Greene) wth Mr Greenes Letter of Attorney to Richard Digges into the hands of William Barker by vertue of a letter of Attorney made by the said Greene unto William Barker

A Co^{rt} at James Citty the last day of January 1628 p^{r}sent

Cap: ffrancis West Esqr Gouerno^{r} &c.
Doctor Pott.
Capt: Smyth.
Capt: Mathewes.
Mr. Secretary.
Mr. ffarrar.

At this Co^{rt} was taken into Consideracon the treaty of peace wth the Indians wch hath bin Continewed Since the beginning of August last And finding that uppon this treaty the people and planters of the Colony have growen secure and utterly neglected eyther to stand uppon their guard or to keepe their Arms fitt and ready about them to defend themselves upon any occasions wherein the treacherous Indians might attempte anything against us wch mischeifes are by noe meanes to bee p^{r}vented (the Condicon of our people being soe wretchedly negligent in this kinde) that neyther proclamacons nor other strict orders have remedied the same. And alsoe on the other side the Indians have beene extreamly false and altogether neglected the Condicons of the treaty and offered some Injuries in dyvers of our plantacons The Governo^{r} and Councell therefore uppon serious deliberacon concerning the same have thought fitt and are of opinion that in their Judgm^{ts} it is a safer Co^{r}se for the Colony in general to p^{r}vent a second Massacre utterly to proclayme and maintayne enmity and warres wth all the Indians of these partes. And doe thereuppon order that all the people and planters wth this Colony doe take notice that all the former treaties of peace be utterly extincte and dissanulled And that hereafter they doe strictly and p^{r}cisely stand upon their guard And that they doe keepe the Indians of from their plantacons wthout any parly or Converse wth them But for the better safety of some of our weaker plantacons, and that all the Colony may have in the meane tyme intelligence of the proceedinges heerein It is thought Convenient that if it possible may bee they f[ail to?] shoote or kill any of them untill the 20th of feb[ruary] next But after that tyme to esteeme them utter Enemies and to take the best advantages they can against them.

The Governo[r] and Councell resolving severely to punishe such as shall bee found faulty and delinquent in the Guard of themselves and plantations and doe not in all thinges payne toe observe and keepe all former Orders soe often reitterated and published to that purpose In his Ma[tie] name strictly Chardging and requiring all Captaines and Comaunders w[th]in the severall lymitts of their comaundes to see that noe persones or planters doe work w[th]out sufficient force of men Constantly that none doe goe abroade w[th]out sufficient p[r]ties and that especially they doe severely punishe such as shall goe from their plantacons or howses to other places w[th]out their Armes about them.

At this Co[rt] there was a com'ission graunted unto M[r] Secretary to goe to the Susquesahanos, And that none that shall have a Com'ission to goe unto them[?] shall goe thither till the first of April next.

This daie Cap Michaell Marshart signifieing unto the Co[rt] that according to the Com'ission graunted him by the late generall assembly begun in March 1627 hee had now wth great costs and labour brought over in his Ship the London Marchant sixteene feild carriages for Ordinance, the chardges whereof amounts unto the summe of 260 [pounds] sterling as by the Acc[o] by him delyvered unto the Co[rt] wth goode certificate doth appeare The Governo[r] and Councell having taken this matter into consideracon and deeming it unfitt that the disbursem[tie] of these Carriadges being of such necessity and importance to this Colony should wholly light uppon the said M[r] Marshart to his greate losse and damage and to the further discouragm[t] of himselfe and others in being imployed to advance this Countries affaires have ordered and concluded according to the said generall Assemblies former agreem[t] that there bee this yeare a Levy throughout the Colony of 3[li] of tobacco ℔ poll for every p[r]son paying tythes to the minister And for that there doe arise some other necessary chardges, and that it is probably Conceaved that most mens tobaccoe are out of their hands before the publishing hereof it is further ordered that such as shall make defaulte in the paym[t] of the said 3[li] of tobaccoe ℔ poll this yeare shall the next yeare paie 4[li].

A Court at Eliz: Citty the 9th of ffebruary 1628. p^r^sent

Cap: ffrancis West Esqr Governo^r^ &c.
Doctor Pott
Capt: Smyth
Mr Secretary.

At this Co^rt^ was proved the will of John Bainham deceased by the oathes of Rowland Graine [?] Minister and Jaques Pastall Planter, and that the said John Bainham was in p^r^fect sense and memory at the making thereof.

Alsoe at the same tyme Mr Robte Sweete brought in the Inventory of the said John Bainhams estate & desired to renounce the executo^r^shipp of that estate whereuppon a letter of adm'stracon was graunted unto Elizabeth Bainham the widdow and relicte of the said John Bainham.

John Wheeler aged 19 yeares exa'ied saith that hee knoweth that the bill produced in Court bearing date 14th of June 1628 signed and sealed [by] Mr Wheeler unto Robte Newman for 340li of tobaccoe was given in consideracon of two sowes and ten piggs bought by the said Mr Wheeler.

Mr William Stone brought into the Co^rt^ a bill of Mr Richard Wheelers under his hand and seale for one hundred thirty and one pounds of tobacco.

Daniell Cugly sworne and exa'ied sayth that about May last past Rich: Wheeler came into this exa'iats howse and brought a bundell of stocken wth him laying them uppon the table and Mr Rastell being p^r^sent demaunded where hee had them, Mr Wheeler answered I bought them of Mr Stone, whereuppon Mr Rastell replied it is well it is a thing wee want on the other side

Leift Edward Waters sworne and exa'ied sayth [that] the Inventory of Cap: Crotias [Croshaw?] estate now brought into this Co^rt^ by the Governo^r^ whereunto this depon^ts^ hand is sett is the true Inventory of the said Cap: Crotias And that the said Inventory was taken by him this dep^t^ and John Bainham deceased

At this Co^rt^ the Governo^r^ signified to the table that whereas hee had taken into his hands the servants of Mr Rastell de-

ceased and is to make satisfaccon for them as farr as it shall be judged they are worth, and being now to take his voyage for England, hee Condiconeth and agreeth wth the Co^rt^ on the behalfe of Mr Thomas Rastell of London Marchant, That if hee the said Thomas Rastell doe not consent and agree to the sale of the men to haue them put of, that then they shall bee surrendred againe the next yeare after the Cropp, and satisfaccon made for their Labo^rs^ this yeare.

A Co^rt^ at Eliz Citty the 10th ffeb[ruary] 1628. present

Cap: ffro: West Esqr Governo^r^ &c.
Doctor Pott.
Capt: Smyth
Capt: Mathewes.
Mr. Clayborne.

The controversy betweene Mrs Rastell Pollantine and Mr John Moone came into question.

Mr Moone uppon his oath dd [delivered] into the Court that the whole Cropp of tobaccoe that his owne servants and Mrs Pallantines tended this yeare came to 10652^li^.

Mr Thomas Burges testified to the Co^rt^ that hee never gave authorytie power or Consent unto Mr Moone for the removing and replanting of the servants of Mrs Pollantine or for the doeing of many other matters concerning her estate.

At this Co^rt^ Mr Moone agreed to give, and Mrs Pollantine consented to accept of 3200^li^ of Tobacco for her servants labor this yeare and that she shall have halfe of the Cropp of the corne . . . and Mr Moone to make it up 29 barrels of Corne if it be wanting of that quantity.

It was also further agreed that Mrs Pollantine should have the dwelling howse shee now lyves in and the tobaccoe howse wch standeth by the same and halfe the grounde that is cleered wch is to bee devided by the Judgm^t^ of three indifferent men and further Mrs Pollantine is to graunte Mr Moone a lease of the other halfe of the grounde and the howses thereuppon for three yeeres and that hee shall have leave to Cleere as much

more ground as hee and his servants shall have n[eed] of And Mr• Pollantine in liew of the said tobacco howse is to paie to Mr Moone this Cropp one thousand weight of tobacco

At this Cor't was graunted a Com'ission of adm'str unto Leonard Peddocke, Marchant uppon the estate of John Beard late deceased at Accawmacke

Uppon y• pet. of Mr Rayner this order was altored. See Co: 2 Mar: 1628

It is ordered that Mr Waters do delyver upp the estate of Thomas Hunter deceased into the hands Richard Cock the Attorney of Patrick Canada

At this Cor't was a peticone p'ferred against the Governo' by John Bridges Attorney for the M'chants adventurers of the estate of Mr John Haier deceased Whereuppon in fine the said Bridges accepted to take of the Governo' three thousand weight of tobacco to bee paid w'thin three daies and to have the remainder of that estate to bee paid next yeare for security whereof the Governo' acknowledged his whole estate to bee lyable to make satisfaccon.

A Cor't at Eliz: Citty the 11th f[february] 1628. p'sent

Ca: ffra: West Esq' Governo' &c.
Doctor: Pott.
Capt: Smyth.
Capt: Mathewes.
Mr: Secretary.

At this Cor't was peticoned that the Governo' should give into the Cor't an account of the estate belonging unto the Children and Orphants of S' Georg Yeardley deceased, therefore the Councell required of the Governo' that hee would give in security for the estate of those Children, and that hee should bee accountable for the same in England unto the p'rogative Cor't or to those of their kindred to whom this may app'teyne

The Governo' made answer that hee conceaved that the Cor't had nothing to doe to require anything from him and therefore hee would not delyver in an acc• of the Childrens estate neyther give in bond to the Cor't to bee any waie accountable for the

same, but will bee ready to bee accountable to them that have power and authority to Call him thereunto in England

At this Co^{rt} was held a long and serious deliberacon concerning Mr Humfry Rastells estate and in fine it was thought fitt, that whereas the Governo^{r} hath formerly taken the servants into his hands and given order Concerning the managing of such matters as have beene requisite or needfull to bee done in like manner the whole estate to bee left unto him that hee may bee accomptable for the same unto Mr Thomas Rastell or those to whome it shall belong as having the best intelligence and knowledg thereof, and the rest of the Councell for the most p^{r}te knowing nothing of the p^{r}ceedinges

And the Governo^{r} did then in Co^{rt} binde himselfe to bee accomptable for the same estate when it should bee lawfully demaunded of him.

The Governo^{r} did now in Co^{rt} give full power and authority unto Mr Doctor Pott and his brother Capt John West as his Attorneys that they should give full satisfaccon unto John Bridges for all the accounts belonging unto the estate of Mr Hayes deceased.

Serjeant Gyles Jones sworne and exam'd sayth that Capt: Wilcocks did agree wth John Walton to give and paie 325^{li} of tobaccoe for to Carry his goods, for the transporting of his goods and servants to his plantacon at Accawmacke.

A Co^{rt} at James Citty the second daie of March 1628. p^{r}sent

Doctor Pott.
Capt: Smyth.
Capt: Mathewes.
Mr: Secretary.

Mr Richard Bennett on the behalfe of his unkle Mr. Edward Bennett bound himselfe to delyver unto Cap: Martiau one man servant wthin the ages of 15 and 25 yeares, wthin foreteene daies.

Whereas there hath bin heretofore a letter of admstracon graunted unto Mr Edward Waters uppon the estate of Thomas

Hunter deceased And whereas there hath appeared to this Co^{rt} a great Contrariety and difference in Conveyances L'res and other writinges under the hand of Cecily Hunter his late wife concerning [the] disposing thereof, the Co^{rt} hath thought fitt that the estate of the said Hunter shall [remain] in the hands of Mr Waters till it shall more cleerely appeare to whome the same doth belong.

Mr Gilbert Blight did acquit and release David [?] Dixon of and from all debts dues and demaunds whatsoever from the beginning of the world to this p^{r}sent daie

At this Co^{rt} was brought in the will of Abraham Porter and proved to bee his last will and testam^{t} uppon the oathes of Elmer Phillipps and Thomas Crumpe, and that hee was in p^{r}fect sence and memory at the publication thereof.

Uppon the testimony of Cap: Roger Smyth and Mr. Secretary that Cap: William Peirce being overseer to Abraham Porters Will and estate, had assigned and put over the same and all his right therein unto John Jackson, Gunsmyth, the Co^{rt} hath thought fitt that the said Jackson shall have the oversight of the same accordingly and a Comiss: of Adm'stracon is graunted unto him theruppon.

Steven Barker of Neckofland [Neck of Land] sworne and exa'ied sayth that not long before the death of Abraham Porter hee being in Company wth the said Porter and having some Conference wth him concerning 500^{li} of tobacco wch John Rodis did owe unto the said Porter the said Porter tould this depon^{t} that if it shall please god to call mee Rodis shall bee the better for mee the said 500^{li} tobaccoe.

Edward Wigg sworne and exa'ied saith that about August last Abraham Porter being sicke hee this depon^{t} came unto the howse of the said Porter and asked him how hee did who answered I am reasonable well I thanke god afterward this depon^{t} tould the said Porter yo^{u} should doe well to remember John Rodis, whereunto hee answered If I had dyed I would have given him what hee owes mee or if I doe dy before I have security for it I will give it him.

Uppon the Comp^{lt} of John Jackson against Edward Wigg

for taking awaie his Canoe w^th^out his leave the Co^rt^ hath thereuppon ordered that the said Wigge shall paie to the said Jackson forty pounds of tobaccoe for his damages.

At this Co^rt^ uppon the Comp^lt^ of Mr Mynnard Late Minister of Martins hundred against the p^r^ishioners there for deteyning from him his tythes uppon full Consideracon therein taken the Co^rt^ hath Concluded and soe ordered that the sd p^r^ishioners shall paie the said Minister his tythes . . . Notw^th^standing their agreem^t^ wth Mr Ly . . . now minister

At this Co^rt^ Robte Wright was Com'itted prisoner at the suit of ffrancis ffowler for 200^li^ of tobaccoe recovered of him.

Robte Wright and Robte Hutchenson were Com'itted prisoners at the suit of Robte Marshall for 272^li^ of tobaccoe recov^r^ed of them.

Robte Hutchenson was Comitted prisone rat the suit Edward Wigg for tobaccoe.

A Comission of adm'stracon was graunted unto Thomas Rodricke uppon the estate of fflewellen John.

A Co^rt^ at James Citty the third daie of March A^o^ 1628. p^r^sent

Doctor: Pott.
Capt: Smyth.
Capt: Mathewes.
Mr. Secretary.
M^r^ ffarrar.

It is ordered that John Inman, Surgeon, In Reguard hee came over wth the servants of Mr Edw: Bennett (as himselfe Confesseth) who paide for his passage shall remaine and serve uppon the Plantacon of the said Mr Edw: Bennett untill hee can p^r^cure testimony out of England to free himselfe.

A Comission of Adm'stracon was graunted unto Bartholomew Wethersby uppon the estate of Thoms Godby

It is ordered that the goods of George Shorton shall be sould at an outcry by the appoynm^t^ of Ensigne Thomas Willoughby and bills shall bee taken for the paym^t^ of such tobaccoes as

shall arise thereof, and the said bills to bee delyvered unto such as shall have the administracon thereof or to those to whome they shall otherwise belonge.

At this Co^{rt} Mr William ffarrar made over unto William Andrewes and his heires and assignes forever the right of one hundred acres of land due by the transportacon of Robte Owles and John Holmes who came in the Shipp the Southampton 1622 The said one hundred acres by the Co^{rt} being graunted unto to the said Andrewes and scituated on the Easterne Shore abutting Northerly uppon Cap: William Epes his land and thence extending Sutherly 50 pole towards the pursimon ponds westerly uppon the maine bay and Easterly wth that breadth stretching into the maine woods.

A Court at James Citty ——— daie of ——— *1628* present

Ca: ffrancis: West Esqr
Capt: Smyth.
Mr Secretary.

At this Court was shewed a letter of Attorney from Anne Moseley of London, Widdow, made unto ffrancis Baldwin and Mr Edward Grindon touching the estate of John Moseley her late husband deceased And for that Mr Grindon refused to have anything to doe therein, The letter of Attorney being made joyntly and severally to them both And for that the hand of John Moseley oldest sonne of the deceased is subscribed as a witnes to the same. The Court hath graunted to the said ffrancis Baldwin according to his request that hee receave all the debtes of tobaccoe and goods of the said John Moseley due from Captaine Roger Smyth Esqr to whome they have beene formerly com'itted And that hee doe give the Co^{rt} security to save them harmelesse concerning the same.

(To be continued.)

VIRGINIA GLEANINGS IN ENGLAND

Contributed by Reginald M. Glencross, 176 Worplee Road, Wimbledon, London, S. W. 20, England.

(Continued)

ANNE DYGGES widow.

Will dat. 9 Aug. 1509. To be buried in p'ish church of All Hallows, Canterbury before the Holy Rood next to the choir door. To high altar there for tithes etc 6s. 8d. To the Cross light there 6s. 8d. To church of St. John Baptist at Swynkefeld, Berks., & a portucris written. For my soul in Sd church at my burial 30 masses, also at my months day 30 masses, at Twelve months day 30 masses. To Dame Margaret my dau'r. my heart's blessing & best standing cup & my great book of prayers. All debts she owes me of my lands in Berkshire. Sir Richard Worthington to sing for my soul unto the year be come up that he hath begon'. To each of the orders of Friars in Canterbury 3s. 4d. To house of nuns at St. Sepulchres 5s. To house of Canons at Leeds 6s. 4d. To our Lady of Walsingham my best hoop of gold. Out of debts owing me by Mr. James Digges, to Isabel D., his dau'r toward marriage £4. To Anne Exherst 12 pairs of sheets. To Anne Beell 6s. 8d. To Anne Saltyn & Anne Lambebart 20d. each. Ex'ors to sell my lands at Asche which I have in fee except place called Brookes which I give to Ric. Exherst in fee Rest of Goods. Sd. Ric. Exherst & Thomas Beell to be ex'ors (*Witnesses*) Henry of Rog. Squyer p'son of sd. Alhalows, Thomas Halybell Mr. of the East Brigge in Cant. Rog. Worthington Chaplyn, William Saltyn and other.
Proved 5 Nov. 1509 by Thomas Beell exor.

Bennett 21.

[The wills printed here are those of members of the family from which Edward Digges, Governor of Virginia, descended. Anne Digges does not appear in the only pedigree now accessible—that in Berry's *Kent*. She was probably the widow of some member of the family in the generation preceding James Digges. She evidently left no sons and was not an ancestress of any of the branches of the family. Her will is of interest as that of a devout lady of the old faith.

James Digges, of Barham, whose will is printed below, was a son of John Digges of Barham and his wife Joan, daughter of Sir Gervas Clifton, Knight. John Digges had also a son William, doubtless the person to whose son Thomas, James Digges gave the reversion of much of his estate. James Digges married first, Mildred, daughter of John Fineux, Chief Justice of England and had a son John, who had a son William, both mentioned in the will. Barham descended in this, the elder line. James Digges married secondly, Phillipa, daughter of John Engham, of Cliart, and had a son Leonard Digges, of Wootton Court, who married Sarah Wilsford. Leonard and Sarah Digges were the parents of Thomas Digges (died 1595 and buried at St. Mary, Aldermanbury, London) who married Anne, daughter of St. Warham St. Leger, of Ulcomb. She died in 1636 aged 61. Their eldest son was Sir Dudley Digges, of Chilham (died March 18, 1836) who married Mary, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Thomas Kemp, of Olantigh. Edward Digges, Governor of Virginia, and ancestor of the Virginia and Maryland families, was son of the last named. Though James Digges does not seem to have been as ardent a Catholic as his kinswoman, he provides in his will for obits &c.]

JAMES DIGGES, of p'ish of Derham [Berham?] co. Kent, esq.

Testament dat. 20 Feb. 1535[-6] 27 Hen. VIII. To be buried in church of D. a'fs'd in North Chancel where my mother & my wife lie. Pious legacies to D., Kyngston next Darham a'fs'd., — & p'risoners at Canterbury. To my wife Philip a vestment of green. To William D., son of my eldest son John D., apparel & ornaments of my chapel in my mansion house that I now dwell in, at 24. To s'd wife & Leonard D., my son half of residue of goods & other half to s'd. William D. at 24. My wife Philip, John Sakevyle esq. Robert Brente my nephew gent & my son Leonard D., to be ex'ors. Sir William Hawte knight to be overseer. If my ex'ors be vexed for taking issues of my manor of Outelmynton which I now dwell in unto time s'd. William D. & Francis D., his brother be 24, half of goods bequeathed to s'd Wm. to go to ex'ors.

Will of same date as to lands in Kent, Canterbury & suburbs & town of Sandwich, all now held by feoffees to my use. My manor of Outelmyston charged with legacies etc., also lands thereto in Kyngston, Bishopsbourne & Pinyotede, Kent.

My wife Philip to have rents thereof till William D., son of John D., my eldest son dec., be 24, (paying to my son Leonard £5 a year during her (Philip's) life & to Francis D., brother of sd. William D. 5 marks yearly for his life). Lands etc., to sd. William at 24 for life & to his heirs male charged with obit in Darham church & 3s. 4d. To Master of Maidstone College towards payment of obit under will of my cousin Richard D. in Maidstone church. S'd. W. to pay to his brother Francis at 15, 5 marks yearly for life. If s'd W. die s. p. under 24, s'd manor etc. to s'd Francis at 24 similarly in default to next heir male of body of Thomas Digges son of William D. late of Newington bende Sittingbourne in default to my next heirs. Lands in Canterbury etc. to s'd grandchildren W. & F. D. in default to sd. son Leonard D. & his heirs male in default to sd. Thomas Digges etc. *as before.* Feoffees of my cousin Richard Digges to stand seised of my lands in Maidstone, manor of Mayton to uses as last above according to will of sd. R. Digges. Obit to be kept at Maidstone according to sd will. My feoffees Edward Hawte, William Kemp, Thomas Bele gentlemen & Thomas A Denne thelder to stand seised of my manor of Yoke to use of heirs of my son John according to fine of entail of Sir Roger Norwode knight, & of my manor of Netherhardes to same uses in recompense for manor of Wycherlyng which I sold to the Savoy of my manor of Fokeham & lands in Frenobede & Leneham, Kent which was late Thomas Cobhams & John Payfrere, also lands John Nethersole late had to farm unto use of John D., my son & Mildred his wife & their heirs male, in default to my son Leonard etc., & of my manor of Popeshall iuxta Dover, manor of Brome next Byrton etc., to use of my wife for life, remainder to sd Leonard in tail male, in default to heirs male of sd son John, in default to heirs male of sd cousin Thomas Digges, in default to right heirs. *Witnesses* Augustine Wormyll, clerk, John Foste de Cant., Bartelmewe Berham, Thomas Ladde, Robert Watson, Robert Hawkynge etc.

Proved 24 Nov. 1540 by Leonard Digges & Phillippa the rebet, the ex'ors. Power reserved to the other ex'ors.

Proved 25 June 1544 to Robert Brent ex'or.

JOHN FLETE of Bedenden co. Kent.

Will dat. 8 Aug. 1556. To my wife Margaret half of household stuff & other half to all my sons equally at 21 or marriage. To s'd wife £80. To my 3 sisters 20s. a piece & to every of their children 20s. a piece. To every of the sons of my brother William F. & to his dau'rs 20s. each. To my brother's wife 20s. To my son William F. gold ring at 21. To my s'd 4 sons plate at 21, if they die same to dau'r Alice or, if she die, to my bro. William F. Ex'ors to purchase lands with residue of goods. My wife to put all my sons to school until 15. Wm. Flete my brother & William F., my son, ex'ors. My wife to be overseer will of lands. To my wife Margaret yearly rent of £20 out of lands in Kent, for life in bar of ½ my land to which she is entitled under custom of the county. To my elder son William F., lands etc. in Charing, Westwell, Little Chart, Pevington & 2 mills called Ford Mill, in fee, but if he die under 21, same to all my s'd sons in fee. To Thomas Flete my lands in Halden & Bedersden & fee simple rent I bought of Bone & Padyam that Richard Stedman doth hire & £110, in fee. If he die under 21, same to my 3 sons in fee. To my third son John F., house etc I now dwell in, the 3 fields I bought of Stephen Harlackenden, woods I bought of Lawrence Day at Marden, in fee 6 £200. If he die under 21, same among my 3 sons. To my 4th son Samuel F., annuities etc., save one fee simple bought of Rooper & £170 in ready money etc., if he die under 21 same to my 3 sons. My 4 sons to pay to their mother £5 a piece for life. To my daur Alice wife of Robert Gibben (*ends here*).

Proved 9 Dec. 1558 by William Flete senior ex'or. Power reserved to William Flete junior also exor now a minor.

12 July 1560 commission to William Flete jun. William Flete senior present.

Helles 14.

[The son or brother William Fleet named in this will was probably identical with the William Fleet who married Katherine Honeywood, of Kent, and died between 1584 and 1586. They were grand-parents of Henry Fleet who emigrated to Virginia. See this Magazine II, 71 &c, V, 253, 254.

John Fleet, whose will follows was evidently son of a citizen of

Worcester, since he leaves his father's portrait to that city. William and Katherine (Honeywood) Fleet had a son Thomas, possibly father of this John.]

JOHN FLEETE, of Hallowe, co. Worcester, Esq.
Dated 20 Oct. 1618.

Codicil 28 Dec. 1618
Proved 16 Feb. 1618-19

To be enterred in the parishe churche of St. Ellyn in the Citie of Worcester.

And as concerning the greatest parte of my Landes Tenements and Leases, the same are already passed and Conveyed at the marriage of my Sonne THOMAS and I doe confirme and corroborat the same.

To my sonne THOMAS FLEETE, one silver Bason and Ewer etc., which were given unto me by my Father Mr. THOMAS FLEETE.

To my sonne JOHN FLEETE, my lands, meadowes, and pastures lying in the parishe of St. Johns in Bedwardine, co., Worcester called Colewicke or Colemans Land. Also my Lease of Rouckswood Farms, he paying yearlie out of the profitts thereof, unto my neiphue RAFE TWIGFALL, £5. Also my Lease of St. Hellens Harbor, with the meadowe thereunto belonging and one other meadow adjoining graunted by my Cosin Mr. ROBERT STEYNOR, and now in the occupation of JOHN SMYTHE. Also one parcell of grounde lying neere Perry wood, co. Worcester, called Ryngswood als the Harp.

To my Daughter ANNE ACTON, one silver salt

Whereas I have before my marriage, conveyed unto my Brother in lawe EDWARD BOUGHTON of Litle Lawford in Co. Warwick, Esq., and others my Lease of Perry Courte, neere the City of Worcester for the benefitt of my wife. Now yf my wife shall decease before the expiracon of the said Lease then the Residue unexpired shall remain to my said Sonne JOHN FLEETE.

Residuary Legatee & Sole Executrix: ANNE, my wife.

THOMAS DANFORD; EDMOND COWLINGE; THOMAS PENSON; JOHN SMYTHE; Witnesses.

Parker 18.

Codicil dated 28 Dec. 1618.

To my Grandchilde, ANNE ACTON, £50 to be paied unto her at the age of Seventeene yeres.

To my Godsonne, JOHN ACTON, £10.

To my daughter ANNE ACTON, her other two Children, £5 a peece, to be paied unto them at the age of twentie and one yeres.

To my Grandchilde, JOHN FLEETE, £5 to be paied at like age.

To my Sonne in Lawe, Mr. THOMAS ACTON, £10.

To my Brother Mr. EDWARD FLEETE, 40s.

To my Sister COWCHER and my Sister MITTON, 40s. a peece.

To my Neiphues Mr. THOMAS NASHE, Mr. THOMAS FLEETE, Mr. THOMAS COWCHER, Mr. JOHN COWCHER & Mr. JOHN NASHE and to my Neece Mrs. MARY HALL 40s. each to make them Rynges.

To my Cosins Mr. THOMAS HALL & JANE wife of Mr. ROGER FARLEY, 40s. apeece to the same Intent.

To the City of Worcester, my Father's Picture and my owne picture to be set up over the "Tollsey" of the said Citie amongst the other pictures there.

To the anncient Clerke, WILLIAM YOUNGER, £3. 6. 8d.

To my servant THOMAS DANFORD £5.

To my servant JOHN PERKINSON, 40s.

To my servant GEORGE JACKMAN, the "Estraye" Mare and Colte which he tooke up at Ridmarley.

To my servants, THOMAS PENSON & EDWARD COWLINGE, 40s. apeece.

To my servant, JOHANE BIDLE, £10.

To the poore of Hallow, 40s.

JOHN PARKINSON
GEORGE JACKMAN
THOMAS DANFORD
Witnesses

Proved 16 Feb. 1618-19 by the Sole Executrix named.

Parker 18.

(To be continued)

A LETTER REGARDING THE QUEEN'S RANGERS

Contributed and Edited by E. Alfred Jones, M. A., F. R. Hist. S.

The following letter written to General Sir Henry Clinton, Commander-in-Chief of the British army in North America, by Alexander Innes, Inspector General of the Provincial Forces, is preserved in the Public Record Office in London, and is now published for the first time. (C. O. 5/98, p. 129.)

This Loyalist Regiment is of interest to Virginians from the fact that more than one Virginian was an officer in it.

The writer of this letter had been secretary to Lord William Campbell, Governor of South Carolina, before his appointment in January 1777 as Inspector General of the Provincial (or Loyalist) Forces in North America. In 1779 he was given the command of the South Carolina Royalists. (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Report on the American MSS. in the Royal Institution*, Vols. 1-4.).

Colonel Rudolphus Ritzema, a New York loyalist who had deserted from the American service, describes Colonel Innes as "a man, whose haughty and supercilious conduct has estranged more minds from His Majesty and the British Govt. than perhaps all the other blunders in the conduct of the American war put together. This every American officer, not under a national bias, will avouch." (Ritzema's petition to William Pitt, in the Chatham Papers, Bundle 220.).

The signature of Colonel Alexander Innes is appended to a petition shortly after 1791 from officers of the late British-American Regiments on half-pay in England, offering their military services upon the prospect of war with France. To the mortification of these officers, their services could only be accepted upon condition that they joined the British Army as

ensigns, in total disregard of their rank in the Loyalist corps in the American War of Independence. (F. O. 4/1.)

A Roll of Officers, including the Queen's Rangers, of the Loyalist Regiments in the American War of Independence, 1775-1783, compiled from original muster rolls by the Rev. W. O. Raymond, has been published in the *Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society*, No. 5, 1904.

Sir,

In consequence of your Excellency's Commands, I have examined the different papers transmitted by Lord George Germain one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, relative to the complaints of the dismiss'd Officers of the Queens Rangers; and I hope I shall be able fully to explain that affair, and the necessity Sir William Howe was under to adopt that measure.

On my appointment to the Office I now have the honor to hold in January 1777, I found the Provincial Corps in very great confusion and disorder; Several persons to whom Warrants had been granted to raise Corps had greatly abused the confidence that had been placed on them, by issuing Warrants to very improper persons as inferior Officers; the consequence of which was, that numberless abuses had taken place, and among many others, Negroes, Mulattos, Indians, Sailors & Rebel Prisoners were enlisted, to the disgrace and ruin of the Provincial Service. My first duty was to represent those enormities to The Commander in Chief, who impowered me to discharge all improper persons that had been enlisted;— Strict orders were given to prevent any such practices in future, and it was particularly directed that the strictest Justice should be done to the Non-Commission'd Officers and Privates, with regard to their Bounty and Pay, numberless well founded complaints having been made by many of them on that subject.

In reporting upon the state of the different Corps as they fell under my inspection, it was with much concern that my duty obliged me to represent to Sir William Howe[1] the wretched

[1] Sir William Howe, Commander-in-chief of the British Army in North America, before the appointment of his successor, Sir Henry Clinton.

situation of the Queens Rangers, then Commanded by Lieu[t] Rogers[3]. M[r] Rogers had introduced into this Corps a number of persons very improper to hold any Commission, and their conduct in a thousand instances was so flagrant, that I could not hesitate to tell the General, that untill a thorough reformation took place he could expect no service from that Battalion, which in the course of the Winter had been reduced to one fifth of its original strength, principally by Desertion; As an instance I find that on my first inspection, the effective strength of the Four Companies Commanded by the Complainants, consisted of Fifty One Rank & File. I was fortunate enough to find in that Regiment several Gentlemen, particularly Major Grymes,[5] and Captain Armstrong,[4] now Major of the Regiment; those officers had in general originally belonged to Lord Dunmore's Virginia Corps of the same Name, and they were so exceedingly ashamed of the behavior and conduct of the other Officers, that I was told they had it in contemplation to wait on The Commander in Chief, resign their Commissions, and serve as Volunteers in any Corps in the Army rather than remain where they were. On this representation the General determined that L[t] Colonel Rogers should retire on his Pay, and gave the Command of the Corps to Lieut Col[l] French,[6] then Major of the 22nd Regiment, who accepted it on the express condition of being permitted to New-model the Regiment, and to recommend such Officers only as were deserving that honor. The Corps therefore was to all intents and purposes dissolved, and a New one formed. Lieu[t] Colonel French made out a List

[3] Robert Rogers, of Rockingham County, New Hampshire, organized in 1755 a company of scouts for service against the French in North America. From this corps was developed the famous Rangers, variously known as Rogers's Rangers and the Queen's Rangers. His more celebrater brother was Major James Rogers, a conspicuous figure in the annals of the Colonial Wars in America and in the American War of Independence. Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Rogers died in 1784, unmarried.

[5] Major John Randolph Grymes (see additional note.)

[4] Major Richard Armstrong was appointed Captain in the Queen's Rangers in August 1776 and was promoted Major on 25 October 1778 or 1 November 1778. (Ind: 5604.).

[6] Christopher French served in the 22nd Foot in different ranks from ensign from 1744 to 24 June 1775, when he was promoted Major. On 3 October 1777 he became Lieut.-Colonel of the 52nd Foot and retired in 1778.

of Officers for the New Corps, in which he included as many of the Old Officers as he thought fit; These recommendations were approved of by the General, and the gallantry and good conduct uniformly shown by the Queens Rangers on every occasion do's great honor to Lieu[t] Colonel French's choice. That Gentleman did not remain long enough with the Regiment to compleat the reformation he had begun, but his resignation was Voluntary and was accepted with reluctance. Major Wemyss[6] and Lieu[t] Colonel Simcoe[7] have Commanded that Battalion since, and their Merit and Services are too well known to need my testimony. The tenderness and humanity of Sir William Howe to the dismiss'd Officers was strongly mark'd, he ordered them three months full Pay, and repeatedly desired they might be recommended for such Commissions as they were qualified for, when vacancies happened; most of them have been provided for; M[r] Frazer might have been appointed a Lieutenant which I thought really equal to his merit, but he declined it, and as to the other three Captains, I should have been highly unworthy of the Commission I now hold, had I been capable of introducing them into any Provincial Corps in the Character of Gentlemen.

I beg leave to transmit to your Excellency a Copy of my report with the General's Orders on the Margin, which is the Method I have always followed in receiving the Commands of The Commander in Chief relative to Provincial Matters.

Altho' all the facts I have represented are too well known in this Army to admit of doubt, yet I beg leave to convey also to your Excellency the sentiments of the only old Officers of that Corps, who served with the Complainants which were drawn up on their hearing of those complaints and sent me from Staten Island this morning.

I must beg leave to add that I find the Attorney employed by

[6] Major James Wemyss resigned his command of the Queen's Rangers on 15 October 1777.

[7] Major John Graves Simcoe succeeded Major James Wemyss in command of the Regiment in December 1777. His *Military Journal* is a valuable contribution to the history of the American Revolutionary War from the British side.

these people is one Grant,[8] who stiles himself Captain in the Prince of Wales's Corps. I beg your Excellency to acquaint Lord George Germain that Grant is no Officer but a notorious imposter and common cheat; should his Lordship wish to know any more of his history, M[r] Robinson[9] Secretary to the Treasury, and M[r] Richard Atkinson can give his Lordship full information.

I will not trouble your Excellency any longer on this subject, but only beg leave to say that during a space of almost three years that I have filled this office, I have been a witness and can give the fullest testimony that every possible and reasonable encouragement has been given by The Commander in Chief to the Provincial Service. The Officers when they have fail'd in their engagements from unavoidable and unfortunate circumstances, have been always treated with attention and humanity, and when they have exposed themselves to Censure, with remarkable lenity; As a proof of this I take the liberty of transmitting a list of Seconded Officers now receiving a Bounty equal to half Pay, very few of whom have any other pretensions but their distress; and many of the Provincial Corps are now so weak that to make them really serviceable it will be necessary to reduce the number of Corps by incorporating the weakest with others, which will of course swell the list of Seconded Officers, altho' it will be a great saving to Government.

I have the honor to be with great respect
Sir
Your Excelleny's
Most Obedient &
Most Humble Serv[t]
[Signed] Alex: Innes
Insp[r] Gen[l] P. Forces.

New York 9th Novm[r]
1779.

His Excellency
Sir Henry Clinton, K. B.
Gen[l] & Commander in Chief
&c., &c., &c.

[8] No officers of the name of Grant are in the roll of the Prince of Wales's American Volunteers.
[9] John Robinson, Secretary to the Treasury.

VIRGINIANS IN THE QUEEN'S RANGERS

One of the most distinguished Virginians in this Regiment was John Saunders, who was born on 1 June 1753 in Princess Anne County. He was the only son of Jonathan and Elizabeth Saunders, grandson of Captain John Saunders of that county, and great-grandson of the Rev. Jonathan Saunders, of Lynnhaven Parish in the same county. According to Sabine's *Biographies of the American Loyalists,* this young Virginian was descended from an English royalist family which had emigrated to Virginia. At the age of 22 he accepted, against the entreaties of his friends and neighbours, a commission as Captain in the Queen's Own Loyal Virginia Regiment, from the Earl of Dunmore, Governor of the colony, on 16 November 1775. This Regiment, the only Loyalist corps raised in Virginia, was commanded by Colonel Jacob Ellegood, of Rosehall on Lynnhaven River, a brother-in-law and trustee of the estate of Captain Saunders during the last six years of his minority. (A. O. 13/33.).

The studied contempt of this young and ardent loyalist for the revolutionary party in his county aroused such ill-feeling that he and two other loyalists, Benjamin Dingley Gray and Captain Mitchell Phillips, were not only regarded as inimical to the liberties of America, but their neighbours were recommended to cease from supplying them with necessaries of all kinds, including food. (Force, *American Archives,* Series IV, Vol. 2, pp. 76-7.).

The Queen's Own Loyal Virginian Regiment was incorporated, some time after its defeat at Great Bridge, with the First American Regiment, better known later as the Queen's Rangers. In the dragoons of this corps John Saunders received a commission as Captain on 25 November 1776. From that date until the end of the year 1780 he served in every action of the regiment, to the applause of his superior officers, and was severely wounded at the Battle of the Brandywine, where his brother-in-law, Major John McKay, (commissioned Captain in the infantry of the same regiment on 26 November 1776), was also wounded.

Lieutenant Colonel John Graves Simcoe, commanding officer of the Queen's Rangers from December 1777, treated Captain Saunders as his confidential friend and described him as an officer of "great address and determination" and as one who had performed gallant and active services in the war. (Simcoe's *Military Journal.*). An original certificate of Simcoe states that from a sense of the merit and eminent services of Captain Saunders he did his utmost to procure him the rank of Major. (A. O. 13/133.).

This loyalist accompanied General Leslie on the expedition to Virginia in October 1780 and commanded the cavalry detachment of his regiment. From Virginia he proceeded to South Carolina, where he was on duty until April 1782, when he sailed for New York and there took the command of the remnant of his regiment saved from the surrender at Yorktown. (A. O. 13/79.). The Regiment of Queen's Rangers was placed on the British establishment on 25 December 1782 and at the peace Captain Saunders was placed on half-pay.

Having studied law in his youth in Virginia he was admitted to the Middle Temple and in 1787 he was called to the English bar. Three years later he married Ariana Margaretta Jekyll Chalmers, daughter of Colonel James Chalmers, of the Maryland Loyalists, then an American refugee in England, and his wife, Ariana Margaretta, daughter of John Jekyll, the younger, sometime Collector of Customs at Boston, Massachusetts, and his wife, Margaret Shippen, of Philadelphia, the marriage having taken place at St. Luke's Church, Chelsea, on 16 February 1790. (W. O. 42/S4.). Immediately after his marriage Captain Saunders sailed for New Brunswick, where he had been appointed, earlier in the year, fourth puisne Judge, through the influence of his friend, Colonel John Graves Simcoe. In 1822 he was raised to the dignity of Chief Justice of New Brunswick, as well as that of President of the Legislative Council. Colonel Jacob Ellegood (the owner of a family Bible recording the date of birth of Captain Saunders) and Major John McKay, both brothers-in-law of Captain Saunders, settled in York county, New Brunswick, on half-pay.

This distinguished loyalist soldier and lawyer was conspicu-

ous for his enthusiasm in making preparations for the defence of his adopted country against threatened invasions by the French in 1798 and by the Americans in 1808.

His only son, John Simcoe Saunders (named after Colonel Simcoe) was educated at Worcester College, Oxford, and was called to the English bar by Lincoln's Inn. He became an eminent lawyer in New Brunswick and held the important offices of Advocate General, Surveyor General and Lieutenant Governor, as well as President of the Legislative Council. His name is remembered in legal circles as the author of *The Law of Pleading and Evidence in Civil Actions.*

John Saunders died on 24 May 1834, at Fredericton, New Brunswick, and his wife died there in 1845, at the age of 77. The arms of Saunders, both father and son, are illustrated in *Acadiensis,* Vol. II, pp. 189-197.

(F. O. 4/1; Lawrence and Stockton, *The Judges of New Brunswick and Their Times,* pp. 100-1, 111, 116, 141, 274-5, 352, 423-4, 440, 509; Ind: 5604; Ex inform. Mr. Charles McIntosh.)

A second Virginian officer in this Loyalist Regiment was John Randolph Grymes, a member of a well-known Virginian family and son of Philip Grymes, of Brandon, Middlesex County, Receiver General and member of the Colonial Council. He was born about 1746. The Earl of Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, was much elated at the acquisition of Grymes to the loyalist side and wrote to Lord George Germain in warm words of him. He was appointed Major in 1777 and resigned to the great regret of Colonel John Graves Simcoe, whose confidence he had won by extricating the corps from a very disadvantageous situation at the Battle of the Brandywine, by a bold and decisive exertion. (Simcoe, *Military Journal.*). In February 1783 Major Grymes appealed for a civil or military appointment under the Crown and stated that he would be glad to have an apartment for himself and his family in any of the Royal Palaces in England, and thereby save house rent. (A. O. 12/99, f. 18.). He was on half-pay as Major from 24 June 1786. (Ind: 5605).

Another Virginian officer in the Queen's Rangers was a

scion of a prominent family, in the person of Christopher Robinson, who left William and Mary College and joined the regiment during the invasion of Virginia by the British troops and was commissioned ensign in the infantry on 26 June 1781. (Ind: 5604.).

A fourth Virginian was Stair Agnew, son of the Rev. John Agnew, a determined loyalist and minister of Suffolk Parish in Nansemond county, who was appointed Chaplain in the Queen's Rangers on 1 January 1778 (Ind: 5604.). Stair Agnew was commissioned Lieutenant on 27 November 1776 and Captain in the Infantry of this Regiment on 27 September 1777. (Ind: 5604). He was severely wounded at the Battle of the Brandywine. For thirty years he was one of the representatives for York County in the House of Assembly of New Brunswick, where he died in 1821, aged 63. (Lawrence and Stockton, *The Judges of New Brunswick and their Times,* p. 79.)

VIRGINIA STATE TROOPS IN THE REVOLUTION

(From State Auditor's Papers, Now in State Library.)

(Continued from Vol. XXX, 59)

1776				
March	Ditto paid Benjamin Chisim for a Gun and Gun Lock.....	2	13	"
	Ditto paid Elisah White for Chr Tompkins for a Gun.....	1	10	"
	Ditto paid Ditto for John Chapple for a Gun	3	"	"
	Ditto paid John Fitzgerald upon Account of Public Expens.....	1	13	6
	Ditto paid Ditto for James Murd say John Butler as Fifer.....	1	2	4
	Ditto paid John Chisman for Straw furnish'd Y[ork] Troops	2	5	"
	Ditto paid Elvinton Knott for pay of his Men on duty.....	49	1	4
	Ditto paid Ditto for James Murdaugh for provision said Co....	7	11	"
	Ditto paid Charles Porter for Provision Etc. to Sundry Companies	2	5	6
	Ditto paid James Ball for Provisions Etc. to Capt Fleming's Co.	30	18	1½
	Ditto paid Ditto for William Branch for carriage of Provisions		18	9
	Ditto paid Ditto for Provision to Capt Faulkner's Compy.....	"	18	"

	Ditto paid James Blaine for Sundry Guns & a Blanket.....	27	10	"
	Ditto paid William Claybrook for 2 Guns furnish'd by T. Crenshaw & D. Cosby.....	4	5	"
25	Ditto paid J. Grubb for Major Eppes for Waggon Hire.....	65	"	"
	Ditto paid William Little for a Rifle Gun furnished the Army.	3	10	"
	Ditto paid Miles Selden for St Petre and Sulphur	9	7	9
	Ditto paid Edm[d] Pendleton for Forage due Benj[m] Spiller.....	4	12	6
	Ditto paid Ditto for Forage due Charles Jones	1	17	6
	Ditto paid John Carter for a Gun sold the Public by Thomas Carter	2	10	"
	Ditto paid Eduard Stevens for Sundry Expenses	4	4	"
	Ditto paid Ditto for John Long Expenses remov'g Sick Soldiers	7	10	"
	Ditto paid James Murden for a Guide & bringing intelligence to the Troops at the Great Bridge.	15	"	"
	Ditto paid Edmund B. Dickinson for Sundry Cartouch Boxes and other War implements furnish'd the Country	44	3	8
	Ditto paid William Willis as Public Gun Smith on Acc[t].....	5	"	"
	Ditto paid Ditto for Repairing Arms	2	15	1½
	Ditto paid John Blackwell for Capt[n] Chilton for Bounty Money & recruting Expenses for his Company	92	10	"

	Ditto paid Ditto for Arms & Blankets for said Company....	64	10	"
	Ditto paid Ditto for William			
1776	Rixey for Waggon Hire Do...	2	10	"
March 26	To cash paid John M. Galt for the the Estate of Alexander Craig for Sundry Cartouch Boxes Etc. furnish'd the Public.....	175	17	9
	Ditto paid Thomas Cowles for Forage & Provision to Sundry Troops	5	8	3
	Ditto paid Isaac Read for Arms furnish'd Captain Brent's Company	118	11	3
	Ditto paid Ditto for Expenses in Purchasing said Arms.....	5	18	6
	Ditto paid John Stratton for Waggonage to Capt. Cabell's Company	11	15	"
	Ditto paid Joseph Lively for Ditto Ditto	13	12	6
	Ditto paid William Heaten for Waggonage to the Public.....	"	13	4
	Ditto paid William Holliday for an Ammunition Waggon and other material furnish'd the Army	37	2	"
	Ditto paid Michael Gratz & Messrs. Young & Fawlks for Sundry Goods furnish'd the Public for the Army.....2800		13	4½
	Ditto paid Edmund Bacon for Provision to Sundry Troops...	2	3	3
	Ditto paid Capt. William Smith pay & Provisions to his Company	115	2	10½
	Ditto paid John Williams for Waggonage to the Culp^{r} Batt^{a}.	6	"	"

Ditto paid Ditto for Joshua Randolph .....Dotto	6	"	"
Ditto paid Ditto for David Herring for Ditto	6	"	"
Ditto paid Ditto for William Pendleton for Ditto	5	10	"
Ditto pai Isaac Herrin for a Saddle lost in the Service.....	2	5	"
Ditto paid Joseph Spencer for sundries furnished Cul. B.	64	17	3
Ditto paid Ditto for Guns furnished by Major Spotswood...	28	10	"
Ditto paid James Slaughter as Quartermaster to the Culpepper Battalion	9	15	6
Dito paid Samuel J. Cabell for recruiting Expenses and Necessaries furnished his Company from Amherst	52	17	9
Ditto paid Peter Marks for Paul Tilman for Provision to 3 Companies	6	16	6
Ditto paid Ditto to Samuel King for Provision furnish'd Captain Jones Company	4	19	"
Ditto paid Ditto for Henry Gambell for Provisions . . . Ditto.....	8	14	"
Ditto paid Ditto for John Jouet for Provisions to Ditto.....	10	1	"
Ditto paid Henry Fantleroy for Provisions furnish'd Capt Bell's Company	54	1	"
Ditto paid Abraham Buford for Sundries furnish'd Comp^{y}.....	74	13	4
Ditto paid Ditto for Ro. Terrell for Waggonage to said Company.....	89	"	"
Ditto paid Nathaniel Elkins additional pay as a Waggoner.....	"	11	8

	Ditto paid Ditto for Reuben Wall do. . . . Ditto	2	17	2
	Ditto paid William Davis for John Hawkins for a Quantity of Duck purchased for the use of the Public	16	"	1½
	Ditto paid Joseph Spencer to purchase Arms for his Company	150	"	"
	Ditto paid Ditto upon Acct. as Q. Master to the Culpepper Batt.			
	Ditto paid Ditto for Andrew Bourue for Waggon Hire to Ditto	75	"	"
	Ditto paid Ditto for William Sabrey for . . . Ditto	74	"	"
	Ditto paid Ditto for R. Thomas Provisions to Capt Greene's Company	"	19	"
	Ditto paid Ditto for James Jameson for a Gun	1	10	"
	Ditto paid Ditto for Thomas Tilman & Ben. Bohon for 2 guns taken from the Enemy	1	"	"
	Ditto paid John Jameson for Arms furnish'd the Regulars and Necessaries to the Culpepper Battallion	89	1	6
	Ditto paid Ditto for Richard Harvey as Waggon Master to the Troops at Norfolk	32	2	6
1776				
March 26	To Cash paid William Picket for Nelson & Obanion for Waggon hire to the Culpepper Battallion	27	"	"
27	Ditto paid William Picket for sundries furnish'd his Company	24	19	8½
	Ditto paid Ditto for Capt. Ashby balance of his recruiting account	20	10	"

	Ditto paid Ditto for Ensign Keith for a gun furnish'd Army	4	5	"
	Ditto paid James McDonald a sailor enlisted in the Service	1	"	"
	Ditto paid Mathew Swan part pay pay for bringing 2 brass cannon from Philadelphia	4	"	"
	Ditto paid Lawrence Slaughter for Provisions furnish'd Capt Slaughter's Company of the 8th Regiment	39	6	7½
	Ditto paid Ditto for Henry Mitchell for Sundries to the Army	7	16	1
	Ditto paid Ditto for Edwin Godwin for a Gun furnish'd to Do	5	10	"
	Ditto paid William Waddy for Waggonage & Wood to the Hampton Troops	81	15	"
28	Ditto paid John Ferguson for Corbin Griffin for Necessaries furnished to the Troops at York	30	2	6
	Ditto paid Charles Fleming for Rations & Forage for himself & Lieut. & for 53 hunting Shirts to his Company	40	15	10½
	Ditto paid Phripp & Bowdoin for a Quantity of Gun Powder	132	5	"
	Ditto paid Warlick Westwood for Wood furnish'd Hampton Troops	71	15	"
	Ditto paid Ditto for Meriott Westwood for Ditto	26	"	"
	Ditto paid Thomas Pleasants for Arms & Ruggs furnish'd Captain Pleasant's Company by Sundry Persons	46	11	"
	Ditto paid Edmund B. Dickinson for balance of his recruiting Ac-			

	count and for hunting shirts furnish'd his Company	46	9	½
	Ditto paid John Watkins for Carriage of ozn'g for his Company	1	-0	"
	Ditto paid Ditto for Thomas Watts for Provisions sold Company	16	9	2
	Ditto paid Ditto for Ditto for making Hunting Shirts Ditto	4	5	2
	Ditto paid Phill Chamberlain for Phill Carbery for Wood furnish'd the Troops at the great Bridge	5	5	"
	Ditto paid Robert Bolling for Flour furnish'd Capt. Mead's Company	"	10	"
	Ditto paid Mathew Jowett Balance of his recruiting Account for Hunting Shirts Legins & Waggonage to his Com[r] 7th Regiment	83	8	½
	Ditto paid John Minson for Mary Jones for hire of 2 Slaves	4	"	"
	Ditto paid William Phillips for Brick Work Public Barracks	50	"	"
	Ditto paid John Overton as Adjutant to the Troops at York and Hampton and for Provisions	64	14	10½
	Ditto paid Lewis Herndon for Waggonage to Goochland Company	6	2	6
	Ditto paid Thomas Pettens for Waggonage to the Troops a N Folk	7	16	4
	Ditto paid George Newter for Dr. Ro. Brown for Medicine to Army	58	5	6
29	Ditto paid William Goosly for Provisions furnish'd 1st & 2nd Reg[t]	328	6	8½
	Ditto paid Ditto for Provisions			

	furnish'd his Company of M. Men	12	1	3
	Ditto paid Ditto for Serjant Read for pay of himself & a part of my Company	28	14	"
	Ditto paid George Anderson for the use of Gabriel Jones for Flour furnish'd Captain Gibson's Men	4	10	"
	Ditto paid Ditto for Colo[l] John Syme for a Quantity of Corn sold the Country	378	"	"
	Ditto paid Francis Peyton for pay & Provisions to his Company M. Men on Duty	248	11	6
1776				
March 30	To cash paid William Emory for Ferriages & Provisions to Sundry Soldiers & Waggons in Public Service	3	13	2½
	To Ditto paid Joseph Jones for Alexander Woodrow for Provisions furnish'd Capt. Alexander's Company	1	18	6
	Ditto paid Ditto for James Allen for Provisions said Comp[y]	"	15	"
	Ditto paid Ditto for Francis Thornton for Ditto	1	19	"
	Ditto paid Ditto for Ben. Berbridge for a Gun to the Army	2	10	"
	Ditto paid Adam Faulk for Forage furnish'd the Army	40	"	"
	Ditto paid Ditto for James Mercer for Waggonage Powder	6	10	"
	Ditto paid Samuel Woodson for Guns & Provision his Comp[y]	18	3	7
	Ditto paid William Stark for pay of his Company	200	"	"

(To be continued)

NOTES AND QUERIES

NOTES FROM THE RECORDS OF RICHMOND COUNTY

(1) Will of John Tayloe, dated May 22, 1773, proved July 5, 1779 (Printed in this Magazine, xvii, 373.)

(2) Will of Cuthbert Webb, dated January 25, 1781, proved August 2, 1782. Legatees: mother Frances, sister-in-law Winny Webb, brother Charles, brother Isaac, to godson James Cuthbert Williamson, two negroes at the death of "my sister Singleton", nephew George Harrison, niece Frances Harrison, god-daughter Priscilla Webb, godsons John Hill and John Edmundson. Brother and friend, Robert Singleton executors.

(3) Will of Robert Singleton, dated Sept. 2, 1781, proved Aug. 5, 1782. Legatees: wife Priscilla, son James Cuthbert Singleton, brothers James, Joshua and Samuel Singleton.

(4) Will of William Barber, dated March 10, 1719, proved June 7, 1721. Legatees: daughter Mary Lewis, daughter Lucy Baker, cousins Thomas Barber, Samuel Wood, Mary Wood, daughters Joyce and Ann, wife, son Samuel. Brother Charles Barber and Cousin John Tarpley trustees.

(5) Will of William Bronaugh, dated Sept. 3, 1717, proved April 2, 1718. Legatees: wife Ann, eldest son David, son Jeremiah—brother David Bronaugh mentioned—; brother Jeremiah Bronaugh; land of George Bronaugh mentioned.

(6) Inventory of Thomas Fitzhugh, 1720, includes a "parcel of books" valued at £15.7 and 4 old pictures valued at 8 shillings.

(7) Will of Mary Carpenter, proved Jan. 1791. Legatees: Frances Barber, Elizabeth, daughter of Charles Barber, Mary Barber, Ann, daughter of Charles Barber, Charles, son of Charles Barber, Ann, daughter of Thomas Griffin, brother Thomas Glascock, John Tarpley, Jr., John Tarpley, Sr., Winifred, daughter of Thomas Griffin.

(8) Will of Edward Barrow, proved March 7, 1721. Legatees: son Edward, daughter Ann, leaves son Edward all of his estate in England; daughter Margaret.

(9) Will of William Strothers [Strother] Sr., dated December 30, 1700, proved November 4, 1702. Legatees: to eldest son William Strother land testator lived on, after death of said William's mother, son James, wife Dorothy, sons Robert, Benjamin and Joseph, grandson Will Strother.

(10) Will of John Walker of Rappahannock County, dated Feb. 21, 1665, proved by deposition Feb. 3, 1668, recorded in Richmond

County Feb. 14, 1706. Legatees: daughters Ann, Frances, Jane and Elizabeth Walker, his lands in Gloucester County to be equally divided when they are 16 or married. To daughters Sarah and Hester Walker his land in Rappahannock, 1000 acres, and the remainder after their mother's death. They were under 16. To wife Sarah the remainder of his land in Rappahannock County for her life and after her death Sarah and Hester to receive 400 and 600 acres respectively. Codicil dated July 6, 1668, "Whereas since the making of this will I have due me two tracts of 1030 and 900 acres on the east side of Rappahannock Creek, my wife to have them in lieu of her dower in the Gloucester lands". Legacy to daughter Anne and her husband John Payne.

(11) Inventory of Capt. Thomas Barber, dated May 1754.

(12) Will of Isaac Webb, dated Oct. 19, 1759, proved July 7, 1760. Legatees: sons John, James, Charles, Isaac, Cudbuth [Cuthbert] wife Frances, daughters Nancy Webb, Elizabeth, Nancy and Priscilla, and son Charles. Seven youngest children.

(13) Will of Richard Barnes, gent; dated July 10, 1754, proved Nov. 2, 1761. Legatees: brother Major Abraham Barnes and his two sons John and Richard. Col. Landon Carter and Col. John Tayloe, trustees. Wife, Penelope, son Thomas, daughter Mary Kelsick, daughter Rebecca Beckwith, daughter Elinor Barnes, daughter Sarah Barnes. Codicil: alteration in bequest to Rebecca, wife of Jonathan Beckwith and to daughter Elinor who has married Mr. John Morton Jordan, and who (Elinor) has since died.

(14) Will of Betty Webb, dated March 16, 1761, proved Oct. 11, 1762. Legatees: nephew John, son of Isaac Webb, niece Lucy, daughter of Giles Webb, nephew William Sydnor, son of Epophroditus Sydnor, niece Betty, daughter of Epophroditus Sydnor, deceased; nephew Walker, son of Robert Tomlin, deceased. Cousin Susanna Webb, nieces Elizabeth and Winny Webb, niece Winny Sydnor, nephew Robert, son of Robert Tomlin.

(15) Will of William Webb, dated Nov. 8, 1764, proved Oct. 7, 1765. Legatees: wife Winifred and unborn child.

(16) March 6, 1704-5, William Tayloe, Colonel and Commander-in-chief of Richmond County in behalf of himself and the Militia within said county, showeth several charges for services in August and September. Payments to Captain Thomas Beale, Captain John Crooke, Captain William Barber and Captain Henry Brereton their four companies on duty 33 days. Captain John Tarpley and Charles Barber sent out two squadrons of 12 men each under quartermasters. Also claim of William Underwood, Captain of a company of foot Oct. 1704; Captain Alexander Donophan, Captain of a troop of horse in the upper parts of Richmond County and Captain Nicholas Smith's claim for the troops under his command.

(17) Power of Attorney, Feb. 27, 1711, from Warren Cary of Virginia to his brother Richard Cary of Bristol, England.

(18) John Tarpley, Edward Barrow, Nicholas Smith, William Thornton, John Tayloe and Richard Taliaferro, Justices. April 6, 1715.

(19) Will of Samuel Bayley, dated Feb. 8, 1709-10, proved April 5, 1710. Legatees: wife Ann, daughter Joyce, wife of Captain William Barber [&c.]

(20) Will of John Jett, dated May 11, 1710, proved Sept. 6, 1710. Legatees: sons Frances, John and William, daughter Abigail, wife Elizabeth.

DIARY OF COL. FRANCIS TAYLOR

In recent correspondence with Mr. Trist Wood, 7338 Irma St., New Orleans, regarding the Diary of Col. Francis Taylor so often referred to, I gathered the following data:

1. James Taylor, of New Kent Co., the Immigrant: had
2. Col. James Taylor, m. Martha Thompson: had
   a. Frances Taylor, m. Ambrose Madison (gr-parents President M).
   b. Martha Taylor, m. Thos. Chew.
   c. James Taylor, whose 1st w. was Alice Catlett, neé Thornton. (gr-parents Gen. Jas. Taylor, War of 1812).
   d. Zachary Taylor, m. Elizabeth Lee (gr-parents Pres't. Taylor).
   e. COL. GEORGE TAYLOR: 10 sons officers in Rev., among them COL. FRANCIS TAYLOR the DIARIST.
   f. Tabitha Taylor, m. Thos. Wild.
   g. Erasmus Taylor, m. Jane Moore.
   h. Hannah Taylor, m. Nicholas Battaile.
   i. Mildred Taylor, m. Richard Thomas.

The Diary of Col. Francis Taylor, 1786-1799, in 13 vols., one vol. per year (Originally 14, one missing) was found by Dr. A. G. Grinnan in the attic of "Rosebud", Orange County, Va., the home of Robert Taylor and given him by Mary, Robert's wife, (she neé Taylor); sold by Dr. Grinnan to Wm. Kyle Anderson, U. S. Consul at Hanover, Germany (grandson of Commodore Richard Taylor) who at his death left it to his sister with request that ultimately it go to Virginia Historical Society.

Col. Frank Taylor, Diarist, was son of Col. George Taylor, *and never married.* He lived at "Midland" left him by his father's will, dated 5th Sept., 1789. He was Colonel in the "Liberty or Death" Culpeper Minute Men, and their marching to Williamsburg was commissioned Captain 2d Va. Regt. (May 8, 1776) Major 15th Va., 1778. Lieut. Col. Convention Guards, Dec. 24, 1778. Colonel March 5, 1779. I (Mr. Wood) have a very complete account of him.

Col. Francis Taylor's uncle, James T. of "Bloombury" Orange Co., m. Mrs. Catlett, neé Thornton, and had Major Francis Taylor b. 27 March 1751, served in Rev., later of "Locust Grove", Franklin (now Granville) Co., N. C. Major Francis Taylor left a diary but I (Wood) have never been able to find it.

Col. Francis Taylor the Diarist is sometimes confused with his cousin, Major Francis Taylor, b. 1751. Both served in the Rev'n. The Diary so often quoted is certainly that of Col. Francis T., of "Midland", b. 1747, d. 1799, Son of Colonel George.

Col. Francis Taylor, nephew of Maj. Jonathan Taylor (Sent to receive the surrender or transfer of garrisons of La. when the territory was taken over by the U. S.) also left a Diary, in possession of his descendants. Major Jonathan was son of Col. Jonathan of the Rev'n.

Gen. James Taylor, son of Col. James T. of "Midway", Caroline Co., and nephew of Major Francis, whose diary was lost, also left his Reminiscences and Record. The Diary of Col. Francis has never been published; there has been some talk of publishing it in the Records of the Ky. Historical Society.

General James Taylor's Reminiscences begin with the Rev'n., in which he served as a boy with his father, Col. James. Hubbard Taylor, Gen. James' brother, left an autobiography—short.

The sister of Hon. Wm. Kyle Anderson, (to whom he left the Diary of Col. Francis Taylor), was Mrs. T. S. Venable, of Owensboro, Ky., and it is my (Wood's) understanding that it is now in the possession of her son, Mr. J. A. Venable.

Fall Taylor, was half brother of Gen. Thomas Haynes T., and descendant of Commodore Richard Taylor, brother to the Diarist, Col. Francis Taylor: Gen. Thomas Taylor began a Taylor Family Record, got his bro. Fall interested in it, and Fall devoted the rest of his life to it.

Dr. Grinnan annotated the Diary of Col. Francis Taylor: So did Consul Anderson: So did Fall Taylor. Fall Taylor's sister, of Frankfort Ky., was sometime ago contemplating publishing the diary—probably with Fall's annotations. (This refers probably to proposed publication by Ky. Historical Society). W. B. McGroarty.

MILITARY HOSPITAL IN WILLIAMSBURG, 1777.

From Executive Communications 1777—Dept. of Archives, Va. State Library.

[Communicated by Robt. B. Munford, Jr., Member Va. Hist. Society.]

"The Committee appointed to inquire for a proper Hospital for the reception and accommodation of the Sick and wounded Soldiers have

accordingly made the said inquiry, agreed upon a Report and come to a Resolution thereupon.

At the instance of your Committee Doctor William Rickman, lately appointed by the General Congress to be Physician & Director General to The Continental Hospital, accompanied them to the College, Palace, and other places and he advised that tho' the College has room enough for the purpose of an Hospital yet by reason of the many partitions therein it will not admit of that thorough passage of Air so absolutely necessary for invalids. And your Committee beg leave to represent that the College has at a very considerable expense been lately repaired, white washed and thoroughly cleaned for the reception of Scholars who are expected to return to their Studies on Monday next at which time the vacation ceases, that there are a large and valuable Library and Apparatus in it which might probably be damaged in the removal, perhaps totally ruined. That several young gentlemen of the country have been accustomed to receive maintenance and education there, as Scholars on certain Foundations established by different Benefactors.

It also appears from examination of the Palace and the Opinion of Doct^{r} Rickman that it is adapted in all respects, without any alterations of Consequence, for an Hospital; whether considered as to size, situation, plan or necessary officers; that added to this, there stands a publick Building in the center of the Park, which may be taken as an appendage to the Hospital, whither persons labouring under epidemical or infectious Disorders may be removed, and the Diseases thereby prevented from spreading.

Your Committee beg leave farther to represent that the following private Houses within the City of Williamsburg may be purchased viz. Doct. James Carter's which is but small, yet has many convenient out buildings which might be applied also to the purposes of Hospitals, and the whole may be procured for the sum of one thousand Pounds. Mr. James Hubbard's which does not contain many Rooms but they are commodious and airy: this may be had for about twelve hundred pounds, the sum which (with the repairs lately made) it cost him, with this privilege reserved to him of repurchasing on the same terms & in the same condition if at the end of the present troubles the public should incline to sell it: Also Mr. John Hartley Norton's which is airy and pleasant but the outhouses are few in number & not in good repair; this may be had for thirteen hundred pounds.

And it appears to your Committee that no one of the three private Houses above mentioned would singly be sufficient for the purpose, tho' all of them together might, but adopting that method would necessarily enhance the expence, as an additional number of Surgeons, Surgeons Mates, Nurses, Matrons and other assistants would be unavoidable.

Upon the whole matter your Committee came to the following Resolution viz.

Resolved, on the Opinion of this Committee, that the Palace and as many of the outbuildings as may be necessary for the purpose, be appropriated for a Publick Hospital, and that the Physician & Director General be informed thereof."

[No signatures attached.]

GREEN, AMELIA COUNTY, &C.

A descendant of Col. Grief Green has in her possession a Bible containing this brief and much mutilated record: "The Daughter of Marston Green & Eliz[a] his wife—the 19 Day of December 1766.

——— Green the Son of Marston & Eliz his wife was bor— ay the 23 Day of June 1770." In all probability this means the births of Mary and Grief Green.

Thomas Green married Elizabeth Marston, lived and died in Nottoway Parish, Amelia couny. They had at least one son Marston who married Elizabeth ———, and had at least two children, Mary and Grief.

Mary married James Harper of Petersburg, Va., and had issue. Grief served in the war of 1812 as Lieutenant Colonel in 98th (Green's) Regiment of Virginia Militia. He was commissioned Nov. 1st, 1811, and served from July 5th to July 31st, 1813. He also served as Lieutenant Colonel in the 6th (Sharp's) regiment of Va. militia from July 31st, 1813, to January 11th, 1814. He was a man of large frame and is said to have been quite severe toward his men. He was a lawyer of prominence. At one time he lived near Burkeville, Nottoway county, but later moved to Halifax county. His plantation was afterwards owned by the Alexander family.

Col. Grief Green, prior to 1815, married Rebecca Mayo, daughter of Joseph Mayo (of William) and his wife Martha Tabb (of Wm. and Susannah Gould Tabb). By this marriage there were two daughters, Eliza Aperson, who married Stith Bolling Spragins, and Signora, who married James Oliver.

Mrs. Grief Green died in 1816 and the colonel married a widow Knox, by whom he had one son, Henry, who served with distinction in the Mexican and Civil Wars.

The Green burying ground is in Nottoway county, near Burkeville, and was surrounded by a brick wall.

Any information regarding the Green and Marston families is desired by Rev. J. Ogle Warfield, 2216 Spruce St., Philadelphia.

"THE AMERICAN REGIMENT IN THE CARTHAGENA EXPEDITION."

(See XXX, 1, &c.)

Referring to the discussion in *Va. Mag.*, xxx, 1, it appears from the *Gooch Papers* (British Transcripts in the Library of Congress) that

there was at first some difficulty in enlisting the four Virginia companies because of the fear of the men that they would be commanded by officers they did not know. As a consequence commissions were issued on the recommendation of the Virginia Council. Gooch sent the following list of them to the Duke of Newcastle with his despatch of 13 September, 1740, saying, "I have enclosed Your Grace a List of the Gentlemen to whom His Majesty's Commissions were given," viz:

(P. R. O., C. O. 5: 1337-5, No. 138.)

"A List of the Names of Gentlemen to whom His Majesty's Commissions to Command the Forces raised in Virginia were given, with the dates of their severally receiving them:

Lawrence Washington	Capn	July the 10th 1740
Lewis Brown	Lieutt	10th ditto
Samuel Pilot	Ensign	10th ditto
Charles Walker	Capn	11th ditto
William Bellamy	Lieutt	11th ditto
William Young	Ensign	12th ditto
Richard Bushrod	Capn	12th ditto
Francis Moss	Lieutt	12th ditto
William Fitzhugh	Ensign	11th ditto x
James Mercer	Capn	13th ditto
Thomas Southgate	Lieutt	13th ditto
Hugh Rose	Ensign	13th ditto"

FAIRFAX HARRISON.

BORROUM.

"Can any one give me any information as to who was the wife of William Borroum, who moved to South Carolina from Virginia about the end of the Revolutionary War? Also who his mother was? They were connected with the Lees, Randolphs, Keiths, Burwells, Byrds, Beverleys, Willis and Carters, etc."

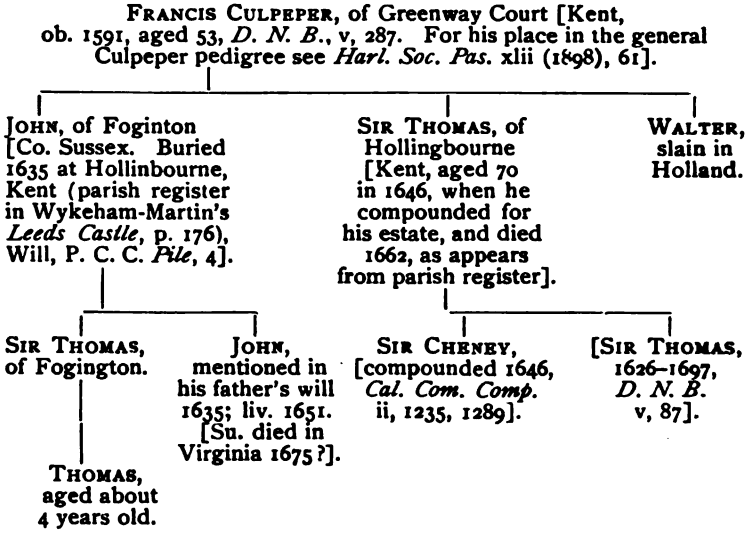
C. J. RAMAGE,
Saluda, S. C.

CULPEPER

John Culpeper was Clerk of Northampton County, Virginia 1671-1674. There is a surviving record of an undated petition to the Virginia Council by "Mary Culpeper Relict and Adm., of the estate of Mr. John Culpeper, dec'd.," which may be related to 1675 (Va. Mag. X 378).

The Visitation of Sussex 1633-34 (*Harl. MS.* 1562 fo. 170) in *Harl. Soc. Pub.* liii (1905) gives the following pedigree which we have annotated from other records in square brackets, viz:

CULPEPER OF FOGINGTON.



Francis Culpeper, of Greenway Court [Kent, 05, 1591, aged 53, *D. N. B.* v. 287. For his place in the general Culpeper pedigree, see *Harl. Soc. Pub.,* xlii (1898) 61.]

The John Culpeper described in the Sussex pedigree as "of Fogington", where his eldest son lived after him, was clearly the John Culpeper who describes himself in his will (calendared in *Va. Mag.,* xxiv., 386) as "of Greenway Court" and is described in the Hollingbourne Parish Register, at his burial as "Mr. John Colepeper, armiger." His will mentions sons Thomas and John and leaves to the latter an annuity of £30. "payable by Sir John Culpeper."

Sir John Culpeper (1600-1660) the associate of Falkland and Clarendon in Charles I's council, was created Baron Colepeper in 1644 but the Parliament declined to recognize the dignity. He is in consequence always styled Sir John Culpeper in the parliamentary records, and so appears in the proceedings in 1651 on the distribution of his forfeited estate (*Cal. Com. Compoundings,* v. 3277). In these proceedings one "John Culpeper, merchant," testified that Sir John Culpeper by deed 10 October 1637, granted him an annuity of £30, that he has received only £75 since 1645 and has been *beyond seas.* Now it appears from the Visitation of Kent 1619 and Hasted (*History of Kent,* 1790), that John, first Baron Colepeper was a son of Sir John Colepeper of Wigsell, co. Sussex, who was the elder brother of Francis Culpeper of Greenway Court

above named. In all this evidence and the known fact that others of the Culpeper family had emigrated to Virginia after the first civil war, it seems reasonable to assume that the John Culpeper who was clerk of Northampton county, Virginia, in 1674, was the younger son of the John Culpeper "of Foginton" of the Sussex pedigree.

FAIRFAX HARRISON.

FOOTE

Copied from Richard Foote's family Bible.

Richard Foote was married to Helen Gibbon Stuart, daughter of the Rev. William Stuart of King George County, on the 12th day of December 1803.

Richard Foote was married to Mrs. Lucy Alexander, the widow of W. T. Alexander and daughter of Col. John Taliaferro of King George County, on the 19th day of September, 1816.

Richard Foote was married to Eliza M. Garrard, daughter of Henry Garrard, Esq., of Kentucky, August 30th, 1820.

Richard Foote was married to Ann Steward, daughter of W. P. Steward of King George County, 19th day of June 1826.

Richard Foote, Sr., died in February 1834. His sister Catherine Dade died at his home Sept. 21st, 1831, age 62 & upward.

Richard Foote's children.

William Hayward Foote, born Nov. 21st, 1805.

Richard Stuart Foote, born March 6th, 1807.

Sarah Stuart Foote, born June 24th, 1808. (Married Thornton).

Elizabeth Washington Foote, born Dec. 23rd, 1809. & married Cheeves Hayward Foote, born June 14, 1811, (married Mrs. Belcher, Mrs. Gibson & Miss Henderson).

Helen Maria Foote, born Sept. 6th, 1813, (died at Crystal Springs, Miss.)

William Stuart Foote, born March 1st, 1815, (married Ragsdale).

Helen G. Foote died March 8th, 1815 in her 39th year. She was a very devout christian and told her children to be good, to love and serve the Lord and to meet her in Heaven.

EXTRACTS FROM THE FAMILY BIBLE

Hayward Foote was born June 14th, Prince William Co., Va., June 14th 1811, and died at his residence near Cayuga, Hinds Co., Miss., Oct. 16th, 1879. He was educated at Warrenton in the state of his birth, he moved to Mississippi in the autumn of 1838, locating in Rankin Co., Miss., where he was for some years employed as a teacher in Centennary College.

Hayward Foote's first wife was Sarah Jane Belcher, formerly Fisher, who was born in Mercer Co., Ky., on the 30th day of November 1827.

His second wife was Ann C. Gibson, daughter of John Burnet of Claiborn Co., married Nov., 30th, 1858.

Hayward Foote was married on the 12th day of July 1866 to Miss Elizabeth Henderson, daughter of George and Nancy A. Henderson, who was born in Monroe County, Tenn., July 3rd, 1824.

Hayward Foote's children, Richard (Zach) B., Cayuga, Miss., Oct., 26, 1848, m. Belle Hutchens.

Henry S. Foote, b. Sept. 21, 1851.

Sallie Foote, b. Aug. 5th, 1853, baptized by Bishop Early in 1854, married Bailey Lee.

Alexander Hamilton Foote, b. Nov. 22, 1854, drowned in pond, April 28, 1864.

Helen Elizabeth, daughter of Hayward and Elizabeth Foote, b. Tuesday, Nov. 19, 1867, near Cayuga, Hinds County, Miss.

A LOYALIST IN VIRGINIA

By E. Alfred Jones, M. A., F. R. Hist. S.

Jacob Van Braam was formerly a Lieutenant in the Dutch service and having family connections in America sailed to Virginia in the year 1752. It was probably in influence of these relations which secured him a position in the Virginia Regiment commanded by George Washingtonton, whom he accompanied in 1753 on the expedition against the French, who were at that time erecting forts on the Ohio River. According to his own unpublished narrative,[1] Van Braam was in sole charge in 1754 of the discipline of this newly raised regiment. When Washington was compelled to surrender Fort Necessity on 3 July 1754, this Dutch officer was sent as a hostage into Canada and there kept a prisoner for several years, until the British conquered that country.

The narrative goes on to relate that the Assembly of Virginia passed a vote requesting the Governor to recommend Van Braam in their name to the King for his services in the Virginia Regiment, with the result that he not only received a commission as Captain in the Royal American Regiment (as the 60th. Foot was at that time called) but also 9,000 acres of the land granted to the officers of the Virginia Regiment for their services in this campaign. Difficulties had arisen in procuring this land because of his inability to apply for it personally in Virginia, and in a petition (undated) to the King, he (with Captain John Gordon

[1] Public Record Office, London: C. O. 5/116, ff. 43, 49.
See also *Archives of Maryland*, Vol. VI, p. 78; *Hist. MSS. Somm. Report on the American MSS. in the Royal Institution*, Vol. I, p. 480.

and others) prays that the King will grant a mandamus to enable such officers of the Navy and Army as served in the late war in North America to secure his share of land upon application to the Governor and Council of Virginia by power of attorney. (Hist. MSS. Comm., Report on the MSS. of the Earl of Dartmouth, Vol. II. p. 123). His first commission in the Royal American Regiment is dated 19 September 1761.

At the Peace of 1763 Captain Jacob Van Braam was placed on half-pay and after spending three years in London, in a fruitless attempt to obtain another commission in the British army, he retired to Wales and settled on a farm of considerable size, which he acquired with money raised on his bounty land in Virginia.

The American War of Independence having broken out, Van Braam was appointed in October 1775 to one of the new battalions of the 60th. Foot and soon afterwards embarked for St. Augustine in East Florida.

These are the main points in Van Braam's narrative. Campbell, in his History of Virginia, says that he had served in Lawrence Washington's Regiment in the expedition to Carthagena in 1740, but if that were so, it is a curious and important omission from his own account of his military services in America.

The story of the engagement by George Washington of Van Braam as a French interpreter at Fredericksburg on 1 November 1753 and the unhappy results which ensued from his translation of the terms of the surrender of Fort Necessity have been told by Campbell and need not be repeated here. Van Braam perhaps discreetly makes no mention of this part of his engagement, but appears to emphasize his important position as officer in sole charge of the discipline of the Virginia Regiment before the affair of Fort Necessity.

The name of this Dutchman is not included in the list of Loyalists who claimed compensation from the British Government for the confiscation of their American property by the American States during the Revolutionary War. It may be assumed, therefore, that his bounty land in Virginia had been sold before the war. Of this there is a hint from his statement that he had raised money on it to purchase his farm in Wales.

Jacob Van Braam held the rank of Major in the British Army at the time of his resignation in July 1779.

LASSITER.

Nansemond County Land Grants.

Robert Lassister—400 acres of land in Nansemond County, "standing in a great arrow pocoson" adjoining the lands of John Ellis. Oct. 8, 1672. Bk. 6, pg. 416.

John Lasister—330 acres of land in Nansemond County—April 25, 1701. Bk. 9, pg. 300.

William Lassister—100 acres of land in Nansemond County, on Branch of Mahering Swamp. April 24, 1703. Bk. 9, pg. 516.

John Lassister—82 acres of land in Nansemond County. Oct. 23, 1703. Bk. 9, 567.

John Lassister—351 acres in Nansemond County. Sept. 1730. Bk. 14, pg. 131.

George Lassiter—769 acres in Nansemond County on "Marry Pocoon Swamp". Dec. 1, 1740. Bk. 19, 906.

Abraham Lassister—150 acres of land in Nansemond County. Aug. 20, 1745. Bk. 22, pg. 396.

Jotham Laciter—46 acres of land in Nansemond County. July 4, 1759. Bk. 33, pg. 591.

Aaron Lasiter—67 acres in Nansemond County. Aug. 30, 1763. Bk. 35, 457.

WILL OF PHILIP GOODE OF AMELIA COUNTY, VIRGINIA. (1821)

(Not Included in Goode's Virginia Cousins)

"In the name of God; Amen."

I, PHILIP GOODE of the county of Amelia, State of Virginia, being of perfect mind and memory, do make and ordain this my last will and testament in manner and form following; to-wit:

I give to my daughter Frances S. Goode and to her heirs forever.

One negro boy named Spenser, my sorrel mare, gig and harness, together with all my household and kitchen furniture. Also Six hundred and fifty pounds Virginia currency.

I give to my son-in-law . . . . . Osborne and his heirs forever, the property which I have heretofore put him in possession of.

I give and bequeath to my daughter Maria Eubank and her heirs forever, he sum of Twenty dollars, together with such negroes as I have heretofore put in the possession of her husband, John Eubank.

The resedue of my estate not disposed of in the preceeding clauses, I desire may be divided into five equal parts, one of which shall be given FRANCES S. GOODE, one other to my daughter and allotted to my son, THOMAS GOODE, one other to my daughter, *Nancy Mann*, one other to my daughter, *Elizabeth Coleman*, and the remaining fifth part to my grand children—*Semor S. Old, Philip S. Old, Robert F. Old*, and *Frances S. Old*, in equal proportions, but, my will and desire is that out of the money due me from each of my sons-in-law,

William Mann and *Furney Coleman,* and from my son, *THOMAS GOODE,* each of their respective selves be retained in right of themselves or their respective wives whether the parties be solvent or insolvent, and furthermore that they each of them shall be permitted to retain in their hands out of the money due by them, their respective shares under this clause of my will, provided they shall owe as much.

I hereby constitute and appoint my son THOMAS GOODE, Executor of this my last will and testament, revoking all ohter wills heretofore made, and it is my desire that my said Executor be not required to give security, as is the custom of the County.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF; I, the said PHILIP GOODE have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal this TENTH DAY OF DECEMBER in the year of CHRIST 1821.

PHILIP GOODE (Seal)

Signed, sealed and acknowledged
in the presence of—
Thomas Carter,
Anderson Pride,
George Matthews.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

In Amelia County Court, March 29, 1822.

The last will and testament of PHILIP GOODE, dcsd., was exhibited into Court and proven by the oaths of two of the witnesses thereto subscribed and ordered to be recorded.

On motion of THOMAS GOODE the Executor therein named, who took the oath, and entered into and acknowledged bond in the penalty of $5,000.00, conditioned as the law directs, without giving security, it being so directed in the will, Certificate is granted him for obtaining probate of said will in due form.

Teste. J. T. Leigh, C. A. C.

A copy, Teste. S. L. Farrar, Clerk of the Circuit Court of Amelia County, Virginia.
Amelia Court House, Virginia.
April 29, 1919.
This copy is supplied by Martha Humphreys Maltby,
(Mrs. Arthur Norman Maltby) 4130, Walnut Street,
Kansas City, Missouri, May 26th, 1921.
A granddaughter of THOMAS GOODE.

VALLEY OF VIRGINIA NOTES

(Contributed by Charles E. Kemper)

THESE NOTES ARE CHIEFLY FROM THE RECORDS OF AUGUSTA COUNTY.

The various Acts of the Virginia Government with reference to the militia of the State during the Revolutionary are contained in Volumes 9, 10 and 11 of *Hening's Statutes*. These Acts may be summarized as follows:

The Act of December, 1775, provides that all free white male inhabitants over sixteen and under fifty should be enrolled in the Militia, with certain exceptions, ministers, etc., which were specified. Each County had a County Lieutenant, a Colonel, a Lieutenant Colonel, and a Major, who were the field officers. These companies were composed of not less than 32 nor more than 68 men, with a Captain, Lieutenant and Ensign for each company.

The Act of December, 1775, also provided that at the general muster in March, 1776, the commanding officer in each county should draw by lot every tenth man in each company and the men so drawn were to constitute the First Division of the Militia in each county and were first to be called into active service. The commanding officer then also drew from each company by lot the remaining nine divisions, and they were to be called into service in the order in which they were drawn. There was a modification of the Act of December, 1775, in some respects, but the order in which the militia divisions were to serve remained unchanged. One of the Acts provided that in cases of exigency the companies might be called into active service in their entirety. The Court's Martial and Service Records given in McAllister's History of Virginia Militia in the Revolutionary War show that the Militia of Augusta County, Va., served in more than ten tours of duty and, therefore, it follows that each one of the ten divisions of militia in the county named performed active service in the field.

The Court's Martial Record of Augusta County, Virginia, is a bound volume of 334 pages. It is in a fair state of preservation, and the record begins August 9, 1756, and ends July 11, 1790, and the book is filed in the office of the Clerk of the Corporation Court of the City of Staunton.

The records contain the names of many hundreds of militia-men and in nearly every case the offenses were simply failure to appear at general and private musters. Very few grave derelictions of duty appear in the record. Space is lacking in this Magazine to give the names of all these soldiers, because to do so would be equivalent to the publication of a book. However, it is hoped that some one in the future will publish this record so valuable to the history of Virginia with reference to the French and Indian War and the Revolutionary period.

The Court's Martial Record of Augusta County, Virginia, shows that in the years 1756-58 Captain Robert Scott commanded the militia who lived within the bounds of the old Peaked Mountain Presbyterian Church, now called Massanutten, near Cross Keys, Rockingham County, Virginia, and the same fact is shown by the Vestry Book of Augusta Parish on file in the Office of the County Clerk of Augusta County, Va. The record last named shows that the following men lived in the bounds of Captain Scott's Company and consequently saw active service in the French and Indian War:

James Craig, James Laird, James Brewster, John Stephenson, Archibald Houston, Robert Hook, James Wait, John Wilson and William Beard (Baird) and others.

Only the names of men known to be of military age are given in this list.

The fact that Capt. Robert Scott saw active service in the French and Indian war appears in the 13th Annual Bulletin of the Virginia State Library; and the settlement of Roger Dyer's estate in 1759, recorded at Staunton, shows that in 1757 or 1758 he furnished Robert Scott with provisions. Roger Dyer lived on the South Branch of the Potomac in either present Hardy or Hampshire County, West Va., and this indicates that Capt. Robert Scott and his company were in a campaign against the Indians in that section of old Virginia.

The Court's Martial Record also shows that Captain Robert Hook succeeded Captain Robert Scott in 1758. Captain Scott lived on North River in the neighborhood of the present Port Republic and Capt. Hook about two and one-half miles southwest of the present Cross Keys, Rockingham County, Virginia.

On October 16, 1777, the militia of August County were divided into four battalions, three of which were in the Valley proper and the fourth "over the mountains"—i. e., in the present counties of Bath, Highland, Alleghany and a portion of present Pendleton County, West Virginia.

The upper battalion consisted of the following companies: Capt. John Gilmer, Capt. David Gray, Capt. Alexander Stewart, Capt. John Lyle, Capt. Chas. Campbell, Capt. Jas. Tate, Capt. John Cunningham, Capt. Francis Long, Capt. Patrick Buchanan, Capt. Samuel McCutchan, Capt. Andrew Moore and Captain Wilson.

The men of this battalion resided in the southwestern portion of the present County of Augusta and in Rockbridge County, Virginia.

The middle battalion consisted of the following companies: Capt. Andrew Lockridge, Capt. John Young, Capt. Robt. Thompson, Capt. George Moffatt, Capt. Thomas Smith, Capt. Zachariah Johnson, Capt. David Bell, Capt. Alex Robertson, Capt. Wm. Anderson, Capt. Wm. Henderson, Capt. John Stephenson, and Capt. John Givens.

The men in this battalion lived in Staunton and in the central, western, and northern portions of present Augusta County, Virginia.

The lower battalion consisted of the following companies: Capt. John Hopkins, Capt. David Smith, Capt. Thos. Boggs, Capt. Anthony Rader, Capt. Abraham Lincoln, Capt. Reuben Harrison, Capt. Robert Cravens, Capt. Thomas Hewitt, Capt. George Pence, Capt. James Frazier, and Capt. Michael Coger.

Nearly all of the men of this battalion resided in the present County of Rockingham, Va. Capt. Thos. Boggs seems to have been in the present County of Pendleton, West Virginia. The company of Capt. Andrew Lockridge was assigned to the Middle Battalion.

At this time, Abraham Smith was the County Lieutenant, Alexander Thompson the Colonel, and Samuel McDowell the Major, of the Augusta County Militia, and this paper shows the organization of the Militia of said County as it existed October 17, 1777.

David Laird had been the Captain of a company of militia, but on December 3, 1776, was elected a Captain of Regulars. According to Heitman's list of Revolutionary Officers, David Laird was cashiered in 1778, but his record has been cleared and his descendants have been admitted to membership in the Daughters of the American Revolution upon it.

The number of tithables in Augusta County, Virginia, in 1781 was 2,000, according to the account of Alexander McClanahan, Sheriff, filed in Court Papers No. 10, Augusta County, Virginia Records. This indicates an effective militia strength of about 1,200 in Augusta County, Va., in 1781.

The fact is stated positively on page 58 of the Court Martial Record of Augusta County, Virginia, that a portion of the Militia of said County were in the expedition against the Cherokee Indians in the summer of 1776. This fact appears with reference to a portion of Capt. James Ewing's Company, and it is evident from drafts made during the same period, as shown on pages 59, 60, 62, 63 and 64 of said record that portions of the companies of Capt. James Tate, Capt. John Hopkins, Capt. Gilmer, (John or Peachy), Capt. Abraham Lincoln, Capt. Wm. Nalle, Capt. John Young, Capt. Reuben Harrison, Capt. John Lewis and Capt. Alexander Robertson, were in the same expedition.

At this period (1776) there were twenty-nine companies of militia in territory now embraced in the Counties of Augusta, Rockbridge, Rockingham, Alleghany, Bath, Highland and a portion of the present Pendleton County, West Virginia, and since every tenth private was drafted at least 290 men, exclusive of officers, were in the Cherokee Expedition of 1776 from the counties mentioned.

The principal engagements and military movements in which the Augusta County, Va., Militia participated were as follows:

1. The expedition against the Cherokee Indians in 1776, commanded by Col. Wm. Christian.
2. A company under Captain John Lewis marched westward in 1777.
3. The expedition against the Ohio River Indians in 1778 under the

command of General McIntosh. This expedition went to Ft. Pitt, present Pittsburg, Pennsylvania.

4. Guard duty performed for the Virginia Convention in 1779.

5. The Battle of Guilford Court House, N. C., in 1780.

6. The Battle of the Cowpens, S. C., under Gen. Daniel Morgan in 1781.

7. A tour of duty under Col. Sampson Matthews when Virginia was invaded by General Arnold in 1781.

8. A tour of duty in 1781 under the command of Gen. Campbell; in the battles of Hot Water and Jamestown.

9. A tour of duty under Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Lewis in 1781 when Col. Tarleton made his raid into Albemarle County, Virginia.

10. A tour of duty under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Samuel Vance in 1781; at the Siege of Yorktown.

11. A tour of duty under General Hand in the western portion of Virginia in 1781.

They also performed garrison duty at several forts in what is now West Virginia and in 1778 dispersed an assemblage of Tories near the Peaked Mountain in present Rockingham County, Virginia.

These statements are based upon the facts as they appear in the Court's Martial Record of Augusta County, Virginia, and in Service Records given in McAllister's History of the Virginia Militia in the Revolutionary War.

The Augusta Militia, as shown by the Court's Martial Record, were armed with the rifle and musket, chiefly with the old muzzle loading rifle, the best weapon of its day. Their marksmanship was exceptionally good. The Augusta Militia were in the general rout of the American Army at Guilford Court House, N. C., but in all other military operations in which they participated their general conduct was highly creditable to them.

August 18, 1771.

I do hereby Sertifie that James Craig had dieted four Men under the command of Major Rose. Phil Rose.

From the account book of Jas. Craig, Sr., Augusta County, Va.

1777 (Month illegible).

Received of George Craig the sum of $90.00 per me.

David Laird.

The above being for wagoning in the Cherokee Expedition.

According to the settlement of the above acct. there appears to remain due to David Laird 3 shillings 9 Pence. Per me.

George Craig.

From the account book of Jas. Craig, Sr., Augusta County, Va.

BOOK-PLATE OF RICHARD CORBIN

GENEALOGY

THE CORBIN FAMILY.

(Continued)

24. GAWIN CORBIN, of "Yew Spring," Caroline County, was under age at the time his father, John Corbin, of "Portobago" died. On Feb. 11, 1768, William Woodford, of Caroline, was appointed his guardian. In 1778 he was J. P. for Caroline. There are various deeds from him in Spotsylvania County. On Aug. 30, 1794, Gawin Corbin and Elizabeth his wife of Caroline County exchanged 937 acres in Spotsylvania for 312½ in Westmoreland. No record of his death is accessible. He married in 1776, Elizabeth, daughter of Thos. and Sally (Skelton) Jones, of Northumberland County and had issue.

49. Elizabeth.
50. Letitia Lee, married (Caroline Co.) Aug. 1806, Yelverton B. Portch.
51. Gawin.
52. Lancelot.
53. Sally.
54. George.

Mr. A. G. W. Corbin, recently of Northumberland Co., was a grandson of Gawin Corbin and had portraits of John Corbin and Letitia his wife, of Gawin and Jane, their children and of Mrs. Betty Tayloe Corbin Turberville.

34. RICHARD CORBIN of "Laneville," was born 1766, and died June 16, 1814. He was a member of the House of Delegates from Middlesex 1796, and King and Queen 1798-9, 1799-1800. He raised and equipped an artillery Company and served with it with credit in the war of 1812, and was promoted to the rank of Major. He owned "Laneville," "Corbin Hall," "Moss's Neck," "Farley Vale," "Nesting Green Branch" and other valuable estates. He married Rebecca, daughter of James Parke Farley (formerly of Antigua), who married in 1771, Elizabeth Hill, daughter of Col. William Byrd (3rd) of "Westover." She died at "Laneville," Aug. 20, 1822. They had issue:

55. John, died at Carlisle College, Pa., Dec. 8, 1815, of wounds received in a duel with a fellow student the day before.
56. James Parke, of whom later
57. Rebecca Parke Farley, married 1st., May 17, 1821, John Fauntleroy, of "Waltham," Middlesex; 2nd. Dr. William N. Well-

ford. Another account says her 2d husband was Samuel Powell Byrd.

58. Elizabeth

59. Cartherine Carter, married 1827, Dr. Wm. L. E. W. Fauntleroy. One of these is stated to have married Charles Carter, of "Corotoman."

35. JOHN TAYLOE CORBIN, of "Gales," Middlesex County, married Jan. 31st 1799, Juliet Muse. His will is as follows:

"Having frequently considered the certainty of death and the uncertainty of life—I think it highly necessary that every man ought to be prepared for death—therefore I make this will though small my property, to have some satisfaction during my present stay in this world. Imprimis I give and bequeath unto my dear wife Juliet my house known by the name of Gales together with the furniture of all kinds in my house during her natural life—Negroes of all kinds except my man John, whom I wish to be free for his services whilst I am alive—I also give unto my wife any four horses that she may choose, and should I have a carriage that is also given her forever—Should what I have left her not be sufficient to support her, I must then beg that she may be furnished with £500 current money of Virginia; Item I give unto my Brother Richard Corbin of Laneville my plantations known by the name of Hall and Gate Quarter—hoping that he will provide well for his son John, being a favorite of mine. I give and bequeath unto my Brother Gawin L. Corbin of King's Creek 15 negroes—young ones between the age of 8 and 14—and any two horses, the above four taken out as above mentioned. I would if I had it really give my Brother moor, but as he has a valuable plantation, a good manager and out of debt—I think it useless—I give unto my Sister Maria £300—Unto my Sister Anna £200—And to my Sister Matilda £150—I would give my Sister Betty a great deal but as she is so well off it would be taking from the needy; therefore she will receive 10 guineas to purchase a mourning locket. My dear Brother Richard will pay all those incumbrances as they are called, but I hope he will not find them so, together with all my debts—and thank God they are but few.

And then dear Brother accept all my plantations together with the negroes thereunto belonging, with my Black-smiths—the above mentioned negroes only excepted for Wife and Brother—should I have a son I must then leave everything to him of every denomination whatsoever—and should I have a daughter I must give her, or indeed request my Brother Richard to pay her £3000 current money of Virginia when married or at the age of twenty—allowing him six months to do so—My Brother Richard will take my children, if I have any and put them to some good school, far indeed very far from home, should my wife marry, I beg that my children may be immediately removed from the house, and great care taken of my plantations by my Brother—My ser-

vant John, I wish my Brother to give 10 pounds and my negro women Jane and Felicia—I must now beg my Brother Richard will pay great attention to what I have done as he is chiefly interested—My dear wife I hope is perfectly satisfied knowing how small her fortune was—Indeed I hope all my relations are perfectly satisfied, if they are not, it is not my fault as I have endeavored to do the best—I expect you all will certainly know my name and hand.

Gales Feb. 2nd 1799. John T. Corbin.

I forgot to mention that when my wife dies, that plantation and negroes go to my Brother R. Corbin—my only reason for taking my children from my wife when she marries is that I know the Father-in Laws are generally like the step-Mothers—and you know how they are.

Gales Feb. 2nd 1799. John T. Corbin.

The above will was proved at a Court held for Middlesex Co., Virginia, January 27, 1800; and was recorded.

F. M. Eastman, Clerk."

John Tayloe and Juliet Corbin had one child, born after her father's death:

(a) Juliet Tayloe, married Walter Healey, of Middlesex County.

36. GAWIN LANE CORBIN, of "Kings Creek," York County, was educated at William and Mary and was chosen one of the visitors of that College in 1810. He was a member of the House of Delegates from York County 1808-09, 1810-11, and 1811-13 and served in the War of 1812 as Major in the Virginia Militia. In an action near Hampton June 1813, he was wounded in the leg and his left arm was shattered.

"The memorable affair at Hampton" of June 25, 1813, referred to in the obituary (printed later), and in which Major Corbin as second in command distinguished himself, is described in Lossing's FIELD BOOK OF THE WAR OF 1812. Lossing narrates that the British fleet, smarting under an unsuccessful attack upon Graney Island, put ashore at Hampton 2500 men under Sir George Cockburn and Sir Sidney Beckwith. The Americans under the command of Col. Stapleton Crutchfield numbered about 450. Badly outnumbered as they were they fought gallantly, but finally had to give up Hampton. The British then entered the town, and some of their troops behaved in a manner worthy of Apache Indians or the worst element of the German army in the recent war. Sir Charles Napier who was present said: "Every horror was perpetrated with impunity—rape, murder, pillage—*and not a man was punished.*" British commissioners appointed to investigate the affair reported that "We are compelled to believe that acts of violence have been perpetrated which have disgraced the age in which we live"; and added: "Even the females did not scape."

The *Richmond Enquirer* of June 29, 1813, has the following items:

"Brought by express this morning, at one o'clock in the night of 26th of June. Maj. Gawin L. Corbin of York County is killed.

"Still Later.

"Corbin is not dead, though his arm had been shattered and his leg stricken by balls.

"Maj. Corbin was wounded in the arm and leg at the head of his column."

Following is an obituary of Major Corbin:

"The *Norfolk and Portsmouth Herald* Wednesday, November 28, 1821.

Died at his seat on King's Creek, York County, on Saturday the 3d instant, Major *Gawin Lane Corbin*, in the 43d year of his age. A correspondent who communicates this intelligence has accompanied it with a eulogy on the merits and public services of the deceased. In the memorable affair at Hampton on the 25th of June 1813, Major Corbin was second in command. His bravery on that occasion was conspicuously displayed, and rewarded by the approving voice of the country. The wounds he received on that day incapacitated him for further service in the army, and he retired to the bosom of his family.

Major Corbin was for many years a member of the General Assembly for the county in which he lived. In that body it was his aim to be useful rather than ornamental, and his constituents found in him a faithful and active representative. "As a politician (we give the words of our correspondent,) he was firm and steadfast, confiding always and on all occasions in the virtue of Washington, and professing alliance to no other sect than those who applauded his policy. He received his education at William & Mary, and the Trustees, a body of much erudition and learning, in testimony of his qualifications, at an early period of his life, elected him one of their body. In private life he was one of the most hospitable and polite men of the present time, and was always active to the call of humanity.

"But he has taken his final leave of this sublunary scene—and it becomes us with philosophical resignation to exclaim with Job, "The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the Name of the Lord." What remorse, what distress, what deprivation shall make us rebel at divine mandates! What, though his body lies interred among the herbs of yon valley, may we not proudly proclaim that his soul has commenced its peregrinations to that world where abide the spirits of just men made perfect?—If Rome could boast of a Cæsar, France of a La Fayette, and the world of a Washington, the county of York may boast that she once had a Gawin L. Corbin."

Will of Gawin Lane Corbin.

"In the Name of God Amen, I Gawin Lane Corbin of York County, being of lawful age, and sound mind. Do make publish and declare. This for and as my last Will and Testament. I give to my son Richard R. Corbin my whole estate subject to the payment of my just debts, and the following legacies.

To my son Dr. Gawin Lane Corbin I give the sum of one thousand dollars merely as a token of my love as he has often expressed to me his wish for me not to leave him any thing considerable, as it might confirm the slander circulated against him, viz. That a view to my property influenced his conduct. To my daughter Lucy B. Corbin I give the sum of five thousand dollars. The interest to be annually paid for her support. The principal in five annual payments after her marriage. It is my further desire that she be provided with a maid servant. To my Daughter Anna B. Corbin I make the same bequest as to her sister and upon the same conditions. If either of my children die without issue. It is my desire the portion hereby given to such child be equally divided among my surviving children. My servant Peter I desire may be emancipated at my death. I appoint my son Richard R. Corbin, my relations William and Robert P. Waller Administrators to this last will written and signed with my own hand Sept. 22, 1821.

Gawin L. Corbin.

At a Court held for York County the 19th day of November 1821, This will was produced in Court for proof, and thereupon Robert P. Waller and Samuel Sheild being sworn, deposed and say that they are well acquainted with the hand writing of Gawin L. Corbin, having frequently seen him write, and verily believe that the said will together with the signature Gavin L. Corbin thereto subscribed were wholly written by him whereupon the same is ordered to be recorded.

Teste

Sam Sheild Cy. C."

Copy

Will book No. 10 pp. 389, 390.

Major Gawin Lane Corbin married, Aug. 12, 1800, Maria, widow of Richard Randolph of "Curles," and daughter of Robert Beverley, of "Blandfield."

They had issue:

60. Richard Randolph, of whom later
61. Lucy Beverley, born at "Kings Creek," Sept. 1, 1804, married ——— Goodall.
62. John Tayloe, born at "Kings Creek, Aug. 1, 1806, died March 1, 1809.
63. Ann Byrd, born at "Kings Creek," Nov. 26, 1808 and died Feb. 3, 1837. She married Dr. William H. Sheild, of York Co., at "Sea View," Gloucester Co., Nov. 29, 1831.

(To be continued)

HARRISON OF JAMES RIVER

In all English speaking countries Harrison is a numerously represented surname. This holds good in Virginia as elsewhere. The Virginia census of 1782-5, which only covers a part of the State shows families of the name in a large number of counties. There have been all over the State, numerous families of Harrison not at all related to each other.

In addition to the family here treated of, there is in print but little in regard to any of the other families of the name, except the Harrisons of Rockingham county; the family descended from the emigrant Burr Harrison, which has been termed for convenience. "Harrison of Northern Virginia" (genealogy in this magazine Vols. 23 and 24), and the Harrisons of York County, &c., whose genealogy has been published in "The Harrisons of Sciminoe."

Mr. C. P. Keith, while preparing his "Ancestry of Benjamin Harrison", made, without success, extensive investigations with a view to ascertaining the English ancestry of Benjamin Harrison, the emigrant to Virginia. All that can be said of him is that he must have been a man of education and of some influence to have obtained the important position of Clerk of the Council soon after his arrival in the Colony.

1. BENJAMIN HARRISON came to Virginia some time before March 15, 1633-4, when he signed a document as Clerk of the Council. On July 7, 1635 he had a grant for 200 acres on Warrosquoiacke Creek, which he had bought the year before from John Davis. He also had a grant, dated March 24, 1643, for 500 acres on the south side of James River, which was regranted October 9, 1649 to Benjamin Harrison, "son and heir of Benjamin Harrison, deceased." Benjamin Harrison, the emigrant was a member of the House of Burgesses at the session of April, 1642. Though his plantation was in that part of James City County which is now Surry, the duties of his office probably kept him much at Jamestown. He died between 1643 or more probably 1645 and 1649. It has been stated that there were formerly in the churchyard at Jamestown fragments of a tomb of a Benjamin Harrison. If this account is correct it is probable that this was the tomb of the emigrant. If he made a will it was destroyed in the records of James City County.

Benjamin Harrison married Mary ———. She married secondly Benjamin Sidway of Surry County. Her will is as follows:

"In the name of God. Amen. I, Mary Sidway, being at this time sick and weak in body but of perfect sense & memory, prayse be to God: I make and ordain this my last will and testam't & manner & forme foloeing.

First. I bequeath my soule to God that gave it, trusting and steadfastly beleaving through the merrits of my blessed Lord & saviour Jesus Christ to receave full pardon for all my sinns; my body I commit

to the earth from whence it came to be decently buryed at the discrtion of my after named exors. And as for the worly estate which God of his mercy hath bestowed upon me, I dispose of as followeth.
Item. I give & bequeath unto my Grand Daughter Hannah Harrison the horse colt that sucks on the black mare.
Item. I give & bequeath unto Jno. Kersey one yearling hepher. And for the rest of my estate my will is after my just debts paid that it be equally divided betwene my two sonns Benja: Harrison & Tho: Sidway whom I do make my exors. to see this my will performed. As Witness my hand and seale this first day of March 1687/8.

the marke of
Signed Sealed & delivered in Mary M Sidway.
the presence of
the marke of
Lyddeia *L* Norwood.
the marke of
Sam'l *S* Alsebrook.

Att a Court held for the County of Surry, May 29th, 1688.
The above will proved in Court by the oaths of the witnesses.

Teste,
W. Edwards, Cl. Cur.

Vera Recordat per J. Edwards. Dp. Cl. Cur.
A Copy, Teste: A. S. Edwards, Clk—."

Benjamin[1] and Mary Harrison had issue

2. *Benjamin*[2]
3. Peter[2]. His step-father, Benjamin Sidway, in 1652, conveyed to him, as "Peter Harrison, orphan of Benjamin Harrison, deceased", a tract of land, and in a patent, dated 1655, he is referred to as "son of Benjamin Harrison, deceased, and son-in-law [step-son] of Benjamin Sidway". As he is not named in his mother's will it seems probable he was dead without issue at the time she made it.

2. BENJAMIN[2] HARRISON, of "Wakefield", Surry County, was born September 20, 1645, and died January 30, 1712-13. In an assessment of Southwark Parish 1668 he had 5 tithables listed, and in a Surry County tithable list in 1687 he reported 21. It was only in the 18th Century that great tracts of land were worked and very large numbers of servants and slaves were owned by Virginia planters.

As early as 1671 Benjamin[2] Harrison was a Justice of Surry and he was sheriff of the county in 1679. He was a member of the House of Burgesses for Surry at the Sessions of June 1680, November 1682, April 1692, September 1696 and September 1698. He was appointed member of Council in 1698 and remained a member of that body until his death. He married Hannah ———, whose surname is unknown.

The following is a copy of the will of Benjamin Harrison:

Will of Benjamin Harrison.

"IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN. I Benjamin Harrison of Surry County knowing ye uncertainty of man's life and how unfit we are when pains and sickness comes upon us to settle our worldly affairs I do therefore with due consideration make and ordain this to be my last will and testament hereby revoking making void and null all other former wills by me made.

First I bequeath my soul to Almighty GOD that gave it me steadfastly believing through ye merits of my blessed redeemer Jesus Christ I shall receive full and absolute pardon for all my sins. My body I commit to ye earth from whence it was taken to be decently buried at ye discretion of my executor and for ye worldly estate that GOD of His mercy and goodness He has bestowed upon me I dispose of that in manner following

Item: I give to my son Nathaniel one hundred acres of land whereon his mill now stands half an acre of land in ye town of Folwerdy [Flowedieu] Hundred and all my land in Martins Brandon in Prince George County all of which parcells of land I give to my said son and his heirs forever.

I give to my son Henry ye plantation whereon I now live with ye remaining part of ye land I bought of John Barker which is not already conveyed to him I also give him four hundred and fifty acres of land in one patent and one hundred and 15 acres of land in one other patent and all my land at Cabin Point all joining to my plantation land which several parcells or tracts of land I give unto my said son and to his heirs forever I also give to my said son all ye Negroes and other slaves that shall belong to my plantation at ye time of my death and all ye slaves that live at Cabin Point I also give him all my cattell horses mules sheep and hogs that belong to ye said two plantations I also give him all my plate and household goods as furniture, silver, wooden, pewter, brass and iron with all my bedding and all of my books I also give him my new sloop Henry with all my boats and ye sails and what else I have sent for for ye use of said sloop if it please God it come safe in

But my will is that in case my son Henry should dey without an heir of his body lawfully begotten then my will is that all ye real estate that I have given to my son Henry should goe to my son Nathaniel and to his heirs forever he paying my grandson Benjamin Harrison one hundred pounds current money out of ye said estate

Item: I give unto William Stringer my three hundred and fifty acres of land on the south side of Blackwater swamp where my quarter now is to him and ye lawful heirs male of his body forever but for want of such heir or in case he remove out of ye country then my will is that ye said land do goe unto my son Henry and ye lawful heirs of

his body forever And for want of such heir I give to my son Nathaniel and to his heirs forever I also give unto ye said Stringer one male negro not under 15 nor above 30 years of age and two cows and calves.

Item: I give unto Joel Barker that part of my land at ye Wild Cat that lies on ye south side of ye branch whereon he now lives to him and his heirs forever

Item: I give 20 lbs sterling to buy ornaments for ye Chapel and that my executor take care to provide them so soon as may be after ye new Chapel is built and my will is that five acres of my land be laid out where ye old Chapel now stands and that it be held for that use forever.

Item: I give unto my daughter Sarah four hundred pounds current money or sterling

Item: I give unto my daughter Hannah four hundred pounds current money or sterling

Item: I give unto my grandson Benjamin Harrison four hundred pounds current money or sterling to be paid to him when he comes to age

Item: I give to every one of my grandchildren one hundred pounds current money or sterling apiece to be paid to each of them as they come of age or marry which shall first happen my grandson Benjamin Harrison only excepted he being already provided for

Item: My will is that after my just debts and legacies above mentioned with my funeral charges be fully satisfied then I give all ye rest of my estate unto my son Nathaniel whom I do appoint my full and sole executor whether money in England or Barbadoes debts here in ye country goods in ye store or what else soever it be of what kind or quality soever that it is not already given away this my will.

In witness thereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 16th day of April 1711.

Benjamin Harrison. (sealed) (with) (a) (loop)

Signed and sealed in ye presence of

Thomas Cocke George Rochelle
William Short John Jyns

Codicil:

I give to my son Henry besides what is above expressed these following debts Viz: John Somers his debt Richard Hamlin his debt John Vaughen his debt Capt. Clements his debt Ye debt due from William Harts estate and all my crops.

At a Court held at Southwark for the County of Surry Feb. 18th 1712 the above mentioned will of Benjamin Harrison Esq. was presented in Court by Nathaniel Harrison executor thereof who made oath thereto and being proved by the oaths of Thos. Cocke William

Short John Jyns witnesses thereto the same is ordered to be recorded and is recorded by

John Allen
Cl. Cur."

Benjamin[3] Harrison was buried at the old church at Cabin Point. His epitaph is as follows:

"Here lyeth the body of the Hon'ble
BENJAMIN HARRISON, ESQ
Who did justice, loved mercy, and
walked humbly with his God,
was always loyall to his Prince,
and a great benefactor to his Country.
He was born in this Parish, the 20th
day of September, 1645, and departed
this life the 30th day of
January 1712-13"

The tomb of his wife Hannah, also formerly at Cabin Point Church only states that she was born Feb. 13, 1651-2, and died Feb. 16, 1698-9.

Since the destruction of this old church at Cabin Point it is believed that these tombs have been removed to the family burying ground at Brandon. It will be noted, from Benjamin Harrison's will that he owned a portion of the noted Brandon or Martin's Brandon estate. The remainder was purchased from the English owners by his son Nathaniel Harrison.

(To be continued)

BOOK REVIEWS

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES SINCE THE CIVIL WAR. By Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer. In Five Volumes. Volume II, 1868-72. New York. The Macmillan Company, 1922, pp. XI, 649.

It is a singular thing that the average American knows more about the events of one hundred and fifty years ago—the Colonial period of his State—than he does of those which occurred only half a century ago, and with which the present is so closely and vitally connected. One can hardly think of a better way in which this grave fault can be remedied than by a study of Dr. Oberholtzer's History. It's fairness especially commends it to the people of the South, though, of course it is not written with any partisanship. It seems a model of fair treatment of all sections.

This Volume describes the impeachment and trial of Andrew Johnson, Grant's first administration, the extravagance and corruption of public and private life after the Civil War, the progress of Reconstruction and the development of the Ku Klux Klan, the Alabama Clains, the opening of the Pacific railroads and many other subjects of deep interest and historical importance.

RASKOB-GREENE RECORD BOOK. Archmere Claymont, Delaware, MCMXXI. Printed by the Franklin Printing Company, pp 144, with charts and illustrations.

This privately printed history of the families of Raskob-Greene (descended from Thomas Greene, second Governor of Maryland), Wheeler and Thomas, will prove of much interest to those connected with the families named; but in addition to that will be an object of delight to all lovers of beautiful book-making.

BRIEF ABSTRACTS OF NORFOLK COUNTY WILLS, 1710-1753. By Charles Fleming McIntosh, B. L. Published by the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Virginia, 1922, pp 343, with full index.

Mr. McIntosh, after interruption caused by his service as a Captain in World War, has now taken up the good work of abstracting the wills of Norfolk County, and brought them down to 1754. The abstracts have been made in the same careful way as those in the first volume, and like it, this one is indispensable to all whose ancestry goes back to Norfolk county or borough.

Though no place of sale is given, the volume can no doubt be obtained through the Bell Book & Stationery Co., Miller & Rhoads, Hunter's and other Richmond book stores.

HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA, 1819-1919. The Lengthened Shadow of One Man. By Philip Alexander Bruce, LL. B., LL. D., Author of Economic, Institutional and Social Histories of Virginia in the seventeenth century &c, &c. Centennial Edition, Volume V. New York. The Macmillan Company, 1922, pp (6) 477.

The best and most enduring monument of the centennial of the University of Virginia will be Dr. Bruce's history, the earlier volumes of which have bene reviewed in this Magazine.

This, the concluding volume, shows the same thoroughness of research and breadth of judgment which characterized the earlier ones. This

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work is now so well known that it is only necessary to state briefly the contents of the volume here treated of. It contains the establishment of the presidency, a study of the students in every phase of their life at the University, an account of finance, the endowment fund, the Alumni, of the very distinguished part taken by the University and its sons in the World War, appendices and a full index.

It is hoped that the University will follow this monumental work with a full catalogue of its students.

COLLEGE OF HAMPDEN-SIDNEY, DICTIONARY OF BIOGRAPHY, 1776-1825. By A. J. Morrison. Published by Hampden-Sidney College, Hampden-Sidney, Va., pp 322.

Hampden-Sidney College has done a noble work for the state and the country at large and Dr. Morrison a piece of work of much value and interest in preparing these biographical sketches of the students of the College. In spite of many efforts made in the past by the authorities of Hampden-Sidney to preserve a complete record, there has been, as the author shows in his preface, an unusually unfortunate destruction or loss of records.

Dr. Morrison has done his work with great care and after the thorough preparation which all who know his work would expect. The book is one which should be in the libraries of all who are interested in Virginia. There are a number of illustrations; but no list of these, table of contents nor index. The want of the latter is in a great measure supplied by alphabetical arrangement.

In addition to the biographies and list of students the *Dictionary of Biography* contains much matter relating to the history of the College.

SKETCHES BIOGRAPHICAL AND GENEALOGICAL OF THE MAGILL FAMILY OF WINCHESTER, VA. Prepared by Rev. J. R. Graham, D. D., Winchester, Va., MCMVIII (paper) pp 38.

This genealogy of the well-known Magill family of the Valley of Virginia, is a most careful and thorough piece of work. The author, the late Rev. Dr. Graham, of Winchester, includes not only the Magills, but many of their connections and descendants. Among the other family names are Thruston, Smith (of "Hackwood Park"), Hite, Swartzwelder, Marshall, Morgan, Fauntleroy, Harrison, Barnes, Whittlesley, Randolph, Gordon and Long.

It does not appear whether this genealogy was privately printed or published for sale. It was printed by the Eddy Press Corporation, Winchester, Va.

THE SKELTONS OF PAXTON, POWHATAN COUNTY, VA., AND THEIR CONNECTIONS, INCLUDING SKETCHES OF THE FAMILIES OF SKELTON, GIFFORD AND CRANE. By P. Hamilton Baskervill, A. M. (U. of Va.) Author of "Baskerville Genealogy" (&c., &c.), Richmond, Va. Old Dominion Press, Inc., Printers, 1922, pp. 119, with a number of charts, illustrations and a full index.

This book which we received as the Magazine was going to press can receive, here, only a brief notice. It is another of carefully studied and well made genealogies by Mr. P. H. Baskervill and treats of the Skeltons, of New Jersey and Virginia, and their ancestors, the Giffords and the Cranes, together with chapters on English families of the name. Those who know Mr. Baskervill's work need only be told that this while of narrower Virginia interest, is prepared in the same scholarly and thorough way as his earlier books.

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Glass, Miss Katherine R., Winchester, Va.
Glencross, Reginald M., London, England.
Glover, Rolfe E., Richmond, Va.
Goddard, A. J., Freeport, Ill.
Good, D. Sayler, Roanoke, Va.
Goodwin, Rev. E. L., Ashland, Va.
Goodwin, Thompson W., Roanoke, Va.
Goodwyn, Tyler, Montgomery, Ala.
Goodwyn, Mrs. W. S., Emporia, Va.
Gordon, Armistead C., Staunton, Va.
Gordon, James R., Richmond, Va.
Gordon, James W., Bon Air, Va.
Gordon, Col. John W., Westhampton, Richmond, Va.
Gordon, Thomas C., Richmond, Va.
Graves, Mrs. W. W., Jefferson City, Mo.
Gray, Andrew J., Jr., Richmond, Va.
Gray, Dr. A. L., Richmond, Va.
Gray, Henry W., Jr., Hartford, Conn.
Grayson, Rear Admiral Cary T., U. S. N., Washington, D. C.
Green, Lincoln, Washington, D. C.
Gregg, Mrs. George M., Philadelphia, Pa.
Gregory, George C., Richmond, Va.
Gregory, Roger T., Tunstall's, Va.
Gribbel, John, Philadelphia, Pa.
Grinnan, Judge Daniel, Richmond.
Grinnan, John C., Norfolk, Va.
Grinnan, Miss Nina S., Woodbury Forest, Va.
Grinnan, Dr. St. George T., Richmond, Va.
Groome, H. C., Warrenton, Va.
Grymes, A. D., New York, N. Y.
Guimeraen, A. J. C., London, England.
Gunn, Edgar F., Richmond, Va.
Gunn, Julien, Henrico Co., Va.
Guthrie, Major John D., Portland, Ore.
Guy, H. I., Schenectady, N. Y.
Guy, John H., Richmond, Va.

Haas, Judge T. N., Harrisonburg, Va.
Habliston, W. M., Richmond, Va.
Hagner, A. Randall, Richmond, Va.
Hairston, S. W., Roanoke, Va.
Hall, Mrs. Prescott F., Brookline, Mass.
Hall, Wilmer L., Richmond, Va.
Halsey, Don P., Lynchburg, Va.
Hamilton, Mrs. Amelia C., New York, N. Y.
Hancock, John W., Roanoke, Va.
Hancock, W. Scott, St. Louis, Mo.
Harahan, W. J., Richmond, Va.
Hardaway, Horace, Bristol, Va.
Hardy, Miss Stella Pickett, Batesville, Ark.
Harnsberger, Dr. Stephen, Catlett, Va.
Harpel, Mrs. Almeda B., Des Moines, Iowa.
Harris, Alfred T., Jr., Richmond, Va.
Harris, John T., Jr., Harrisonburg, Va.
Harrison, Mrs. Carter H., University, Va.
Harrison, Hon. Francis Burton,
Harrison, Geo. T., M. D., University, Va.
Harrison, Randolph, Lynchburg, Va.

Harrison, Robert L., New York, N. Y.
Harrison, Hon. Thomas W., Winchester, Va.
Harrison, W. Gordon, Savannah, Ga.
Harrison, W. Preston, Los Angeles, Cal.
Hart, Hon. Harris, Richmond, Va.
Hayden, Horace Edwin, Jr., Richmond College, Va.
Hayes, John G., Richmond, Va.
Hawes, S. H., Richmond, Va.
Hawkins, O. A., Richmond, Va.
Heatwole, Prof. C. J., Athens, Ga.
Heath, James E., Norfolk, Va.
Hempston, W. D., Leesburg, Va.
Henning, Mrs. S. T., Shelbyville, Ky.
Herndon, J. W., Alexandria, Va.
Hert, Mrs. A. P., Louisville, Ky.
Hibbett, A. J., Hattiesburg, Miss.
Hickey, James J., Richmond, Va.
Higgins, Mrs. D. F., Joliet, Ill.
Hill, Julien H., Richmond, Va.
Hine, Col. Charles DeLano, U. S. A., Vienna, Va.
Hite, Rev. Lewis F., Cambridge, Mass.
Hobson, Frank A., Richmond, Va.
Holladay, A. Randolph, Warminster, Va.
Holladay, Waller, Richmond, Va.
Holt, R. O., New York, N. Y.
Hord, Rev. A. H., Philadelphia, Pa.
Horsley, Dr. J. Shelton, Richmond, Va.
Hotchkiss, E. D., Richmond, Va.
Houston, Mrs. E. M., Springfield, Mo.
Houston, Miss Martha K., Columbus, Ga.
Howard, Mrs. Eleanor Washington, Washington, D. C.
Howard, John, Jr., Richmond, Va.
Howard, Major McHenry, Baltimore, Md.
Howard, N. T., Greenville, Tenn.
Howell, Arden, Richmond, Va.
Howerton, Thomas H., Waverley, Va.
Howry, L. Beverley, Washington, D. C.
Hudgins, Russell W., New York, N. Y.
Hughes, A. S., Denver, Col.
Hull, D. D., Jr., Roanoke, Va.
Hume, Mrs. Frank, Washington, D. C.
Humston, Ezra, Bosworth, Mo.
Hunly, Col. W. M., Lexington, Va.
Hunt, Gaillard, Washington, D. C.
Hunter, E. P., Washington, D. C.
Hunter, James W., Norfolk, Va.
Hunton, Eppa, Jr., Richmond, Va.
Hutcheson, H. F., Boydton, Va.
Hutcheson, Mrs. J. C., Houston, Tex.
Hutchinson, Cary T., New York, N. Y
Hutzler, Alvin B., Richmond, Va.
Hyde, Mrs. John A., Dallas, Texas.

Ingram, Judge John L., Richmond, Va.
Irvin, Miss Annie B., Richmond, Va.

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Jackson, G. Carlton, Richmond, Va.
Jackson, H. W., Richmond, Va.
Jaffe, Louis I., Norfolk, Va.
James, Arthur W., Richmond, Va.
James, G. Watson, Jr., Richmond, Va.
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Jamison, J. E., Roanoke, Va.
Jarman, Prof. J. L., Farmville, Va.
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Jeffress, T. F., Drewry's Bluff, Va.
Jenkins, Luther H., Richmond, Va.
Jerman, W. B., Richmond, Va.
Jett, Rt. Rev. Robert Carter, Roanoke, Va.
Jewett, W. K., Passadena, Cal.
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Johnson, Mrs. R. B., Cleveland, Miss.
Johnston, Mrs. J. A., Richmond, Va.
Johnston, James D., Roanoke, Va.
Johnston, Miss Mary, Warm Springs, Va.
Jones, H. Stewart, Richmond, Va.
Jones, Mrs. M. F., Lawton, Okla.
Jones, Meriwether, Richmond, Va.
Jones, Mrs. Richard, Atlantic City, N. J.
Jones, S. Bruce, Bristol, Va.
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Jones, W. Strother, Red Bank, N. J.
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Leake, Walter, Richmond, Va.
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Lewis, John Taylor, Gwathmey, Va.
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Liebes, Leon, San Francisco, Cal.
Lightfoot, John B., Jr., Richmond, Va.
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Litchford, Henry E., Richmond, Va.
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Love, Samuel B., Richmond, Va.
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Lyon, Mrs. Heber N., St. Paul, Minn.

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Manson, N. C., Jr., Lynchburg, Va.
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Maupin, Mrs. William L., Charlottesville, Va.
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Mayo, E. C., Richmond, Va.
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Moore, Warner, Richmond, Va.
Moore, William A., Jr., Alexandria, Va.
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Morris, L. Z., Richmond, Va.
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Morton, W. Waller, Richmond, Va.
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Moss, Mrs. Edwin S., Williamsburg, Ky.
Munce, John S., Richmond, Va.
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Munford, R. B., Jr., Richmond, Va.
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Myers, Lilburn T., Richmond, Va.

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McGuire, Murray M., Richmond, Va.
McGuire, Dr. Stuart, Richmond, Va.
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McKinney, Mrs. Roy W., Paducah, Ky.
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McIlwaine, W. B., Petersburg, Va.
McIntosh, Charles F., Norfolk, Va.
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McVeigh, Mrs. L. W., Richmond, Va.

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Neilson, Miss Lou, Oxford, Miss.
Nelson, Mrs. C. W., St. Louis, Mo.
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Nelson, Leon M., Richmond, Va.
Neville, Mrs. Robert, Upperville, Va.
Neville, Maj. Gen. Wendell C., U. S. M. C., Washington, D. C.
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Newton, John B., Roanoke, Va.
Nicholls, Col. Maury, U. S. A., Norfolk, Va.
Nicklin, Maj. B. P., U. S. A., Camp Benning, Ga.
Nixon, Lewis, Metuchen, N. J.
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Nolting, Frederick E., Richmond, Va.
Norman, Charles T., Richmond, Va.
Norvell, Mrs. Lipscomb, Beaumont, Texas.
Nowlin, Miss Chloe W., Lynchburg, Va.

O'Connell, Rt. Rev. D. J., Richmond, Va.
Old Dominion Press, Inc., Richmond, Va.
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Oliver, Mrs. R. B., Cape Giradeau, Mo.
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Osborne, W. L. H., Glide, Oregon.
Otey, Mrs. Dexter, Lynchburg, Va.
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Pace, James B., Richmond, Va.
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Parks, Mrs. Roscow, Marion, Ill.
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Patteson, S. S. P., Richmond, Va.
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Paxton, T. B., Jr., Cincinnati, Ohio.
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Payne, D. A., Lynchburg, Va.
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Payne, Marshall John, Staunton, Va.
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Pegram, Major John C., U. S. A., Fort Riley, Kans.
Pegram, Robert Baker (3d), Atlanta, Ga.
Pendleton, Louis, Bryn Athyn, Pa.
Penn, George E., Abingdon, Va.
Penn, Mrs. James G., Danville, Va.
Pennington, Robert L., Bristol, Va.
Perry, Mrs. James C., San Francisco, Cal.
Pescud, Peter F., New Orleans, La.
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Peters, Dr. Don Preston, Lynchburg, Va.
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Pettus, William J., M. D., U. S. Marine Hospital Service, Charleston, S. C.
Peyton, Dr. Charles E. C., Pulaski, Va.
Phillips, E. Raleigh, Richmond, Va.
Pinckard, James S., Montgomery, Ala.
Pinckney, C. C., Richmond, Va.
Pleasants, Edwin, Richmond, Va.
Pleasants, Dr. J. Hall, Baltimore, Md.
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Poindexter, W. W., Louisville, Ky.
Pollard, Henry R., Richmond, Va.
Pollard, Henry R., Jr., Richmond, Va.
Pollard, Robert N., Richmond, Va.
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Powers, W. Frank, Richmond, Va.
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Price, James H., Richmond, Va.
Priddy, Dr. A. S., Colony, Va.
Pritchett, James I., Danville, Va.

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Randolph, Chaplain John A., U. S. A., Fort McPherson, Ga.
Randolph, Rev Joseph B., Corinth, Miss.
Randolph, Mrs. Robert Lee, Alexandria, La.
Reagan, Frank, Macon, Ga.
Reed, P. L., Richmond, Va.
Reed, William T., Richmond, Va.
Reid, Prof. Legh W., Haverford, Pa.
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Richards, Mrs. Walter B., Riverton, Va.
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Richardson, Charles B., Richmond, Va.
Richardson, Mrs. Malbon, Upperville, Va.
Ridgeley, Mrs. Jane M., Chicago, Ill.
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Rison, J. F., Danville, Va.
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Roberson, Mrs. J. Fall, Cropwell, Ala.
Roberts, Mrs. James A., Marietta, Ohio.
Robertson, Judge Thos. B., Hopewell, Va.
Robins, Dr. C. R., Richmond, Va.
Robinson, Alexander G., Louisville, Ky.
Robinson, Judge C. W., Newport, News, Va.
Robinson, P. M., Clarksburg, W. Va.
Rockenbach, Col. Samuel D., U. S. A., Camp Meade, Md.
Roemer, Rev. John L., D. D., St. Charles, Mo.
Rogers, Rev. George Floyd, Lynchburg, Va.
Roszel, Major B. M., Winchester, Va.

Royster, Dr. L. T., Norfolk, Va.
Ruebush, Joe K., Dayton, Va.
Ruffin, E. Lorraine, Richmond, Va.
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Ryan, Thos. F., Oak Ridge, Va.
Ryland, Miss Cally, Richmond, Va.

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Sands, Oliver J., Richmond, Va.
Saunders, Hon. John R., Saluda, Va.
Savage, N. R., Richmond, Va.
Saville, Allen J., Richmond, Va.
Saville, Charles O., Richmond, Va.
Scherr, Henry, Williamson, W. Va.
Schmidt, W. C., Richmond, Va.
Scott, George Cole, Richmond, Va.
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Scott, Robert E., Richmond, Va.
Scott, Thomas B., Richmond, Va.
Scott, W. Madison, Richmond, Va.
Scott, W. W., Orange Co., Va.
Scott, Walker, Richmond, Va.
Scruggs, Mrs. George R., Dallas, Texas.
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Shelton, Thos. W. Norfolk, Va.
Shepherd, Dr. Wm. A., Richmond, Va.
Shewmake, Oscar L., Williamsburg, Va.
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Sim, John R., New York, N. Y.
Sitterding, Fritz, Richmond, Va.
Skinker, Mrs. William, The Plains, Va.
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Smith, Austin, Middletown, Ohio.
Smith, A. D., Fayetteville, W. Va.
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Smith, Blackburn, Berryville, Va.
Smith, Miss Edith W., Denver, Col.
Smith, Dr. F. H., Abingdon, Va.
Smith, Guy A., Cedar Falls, Washington.
Smith, Capt. G. Tucker, U. S. N., Pensacola, Florida.
Smith, H. M., Jr., Richmond, Va.
Smith, Mrs. Marsden C., Richmond, Va.
Smith, Capt. R. C., U. S. N., Summit, N. J.
Smith, Richard H., Richmond, Va.
Smith, Thomas G., Birmingham, Ala.
Smith, Turner G., Atlanta, Ga.
Smith, Thomas J., Richmond, Va.
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Staton, Mrs. James G., Williamston, N. C.
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Stern, General Jo. Lane, Richmond, Va.
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Stevens, Miss Helen, Richmond, Va.
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Stewart, Miss E. Hope, Brook Hill, Va.
Stewart, Miss Norma, Brook Hill, Va.
Stewart, Miss Lucy W., Brook Hill, Va.
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Straus, Milton J., Richmond, Va.
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Stringfellow, Blair B., Richmond, Va.
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Strother, James French, Welch, W. Va.
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Taylor, Tazewell, Norfolk, Va.
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Terrell, R. A., Birmingham, Ala.
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Thompson, J. Taylor, Farmville, Va.
Thompson, Mrs. W. H., Norfolk, Va.
Thompson, Mrs. Wells, Houston, Tex.
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Throckmorton, Charles W., Richmond, Va.
Throckmorton, C. Wickliffe,
Thruston, R. C., Ballard, Louisville, Ky.
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Trant, Mrs. Robert L., Portsmouth, Va.
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Tresnon, Henry E., Richmond, Va.
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Troubetzkoy, The Princess, Castle Hill, Cobham, Va.
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Tucker, Lawrence F., Norfolk, Va.
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Turner, Judge E. S., Warrenton, Va.
Turner, R. R., The Plains, Va.
Twigg, Gilbank, Markham, Va.
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Valentine, Henry Lee, Richmond, Va.
Valentine, M. S., Jr., Richmond, Va.

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Walker, G. A., Tarrytown, N. Y.
Walker, George E., Charlottesville, Va.
Walker, Mrs. J. A., Brownwood, Tex.
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Walker, Mrs. W. W., Armstrong, Mo.
Wallace, Gordon, Richmond, Va.
Waller, E. P., Schnectady, N. Y.
Waller, Major L. T. W., Jr., U. S. M. C., Washington, D. C.
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Ward, Mrs. Flora L., San Francisco, Cal.
Ware, Rev. S. S., Berryville, Va.
Walton, Capt. C. Cortlandt, Richmond, Va.
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